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THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEGENDS OF VISITS TO THE OTHER WORLD AND THEIR RELATION TO THE METRICAL ROMANCES

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY

ELIZABETH WILLSON

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THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEGEND OF VISITS TO THE OTHER WORLD AND THEIR RELATION TO THE METRICAL ROMANCES

The medieval technical use of the term "legend" to signify the story of a saint's life, and the collection of such stories in "legendaries," naturally gave rise to the consideration of the legends as a distinct literary genre. A little investigation, however, shows that most of the narratives of holy men's lives incorporate material common to secular literature, and that many such narratives are, in reality, nothing less than religious romances.[1] In some cases, plots are taken from the common stock of the world's literature by religious and secular romance writers alike, as in the Eustacius group of stories.[2] In other instances, striking incidents or motives appear, alike in legend and in secular literature; for example, Bishop Wulfstan alone among all claimants can draw his crozier from the stone tomb in which it is sunk,[3] just as King Arthur alone can draw the sword from the anvil,[4] or Alexander the spear from the ground,[5] or Sigmund the sword from the tree trunk.[6] Frequently the small change of fairy lore and romance, such as magic cure of wounds, supernatural supplies of food, dragons, shapeshifting, helpful animals and many other details, appears in the legends.

It is quite natural that the legends and the romances should draw upon a common stock of material, for they were designed, to some extent at least, for the same audiences. We know that worldly people were not averse to reading or hearing at times the stories of saints' lives. Chaucer's Cressida, when her uncle begs her to dance in observance of May, declines because she is a widow, adding:

> "It sate me well bet ay in a cave
> To bidde and rede on holy seintes lives![8]

[1] It is both amusing and pathetic to see the efforts which certain editors of saints' lives make to separate what they term the "fabulous" narratives from the genuine biography, and it is a matter for regret to the student of literature that legends are so often edited by churchmen, for the most interesting bits of folklore and romance are frequently deleted. See, for example, the saints lives in Englis h, edited by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, who complains, in the "Author's preface," of the difficulty of freeing "the acts of a martyr from a late accretion of fable."

[2] Cf. G. H. Gerould, *Forerunners, Congeners, and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend*, P. M. L. A., Ser. XII, 355 ff.

[3] Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary*, *EETS*, OS.87.

[4] *Arthur and Merlin*, ed. Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, I.

[5] *Kyng Alisannder*, Weber, *Metrical Romances*, I.

[6] *Volsungsaga*, trans. Magnusson and Morris, Chap. III, p. 6f.

[7] Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, I, cxxii, discussing the secular material in the lives of the Irish saints, makes the following classification of it, which applies as well to the Middle-English legends: (1) direct importation, (2) conscious imitation, (3) unconscious permeation. Irish vision literature is especially rich in secular material, for there was undoubtedly an extensive interworking of elements from the Celtic pagan Other World tradition, and the Christian vision literature. See the interesting section of Plummer's introduction on "Heathen folklore and mythology in the lives of Celtic Saints."

[8] *Troilus and Cressida*, II, 117f.

And in the *Wars of Alexander*[1] we learn that after feasts, folk would fain hear some strange story:

> "Sum is lene to lythe þe lesing of Sayntis,
> þat lete per lines be lorne, for oure lordis sake;
> And sum has langing of lufe lays to herken."[2]

In the prologue to the *Cursor Mundi*, [3]we are told that some people like to hear or read romances, some, more serious works. Robert of Brunne tells us that he wrote his *Handlyng Synne* for the edification of unlearned men who, "in games, in feasts, and at the ale," liked to listen to tales and rhymes. As is pointed out by G. H. Gerould (*Saints' Legends*),[4] the composition of a number of legends at the request of highborn ladies is indicative of the kind of audiences expected.

On the other hand, the reading of legends with which the diners in monastic refectories were edified, was sometimes varied by the introduction of secular lays. This practice occurred as early as the eighth century. Brandl, in Paul's *Grundriss*, quotes a letter from Alcuin to Bishop Higbald of Lindisfarne, in 797, desiring that the monks at meal-times should hear a reader, not a zitherist, and sermons of the fathers, not songs of the people.[5] Monastic scribes were of course well acquainted with romances, and it is natural not only that they should use in their legends elements of fiction common to the romances, but that, as we shall see, they should adopt secular meters and should even occasionally borrow the descriptive phrases and "rhyme tags" of the metrical romances. Incidentally it may be said that there was also a strong direct influence of legend on romance.[6] Naturally, as Professor Schofield says,[7] no strict line was drawn

[1] *EETS. ES.* 47, V. 4ff.

[2] Some legends begin with addresses apparently sung by minstrels to audiences of worldly people. *The Vision of S. Paul* in the Vernon MS. opens with the words:

> "Lusteneth lordyngs leaf and dere,
> Ze that wolen of the Sonday here;"

These addresses, however, may be merely conventional openings, similar to those in many romances. Cf. below, p. 14.

[3] *EETS.* OS. 57.

[4] P. 136.

[5] Mon. Germ. Epist. Carol. II, no. 124. We read in the life of S. Werburge (ed. Horstmann, EETS. OS. 88) that

> "As for a pastyme / amonge her systers all,
> She caused to be redde / auoydynge ydlenesse,
> The swete legendary / shewynge great swetenesse,
> With other narracyons / of grace and goodnesse."

Is it surprising that enterprising scribes strove to win the gratitude of their convents by introducing a little entertaining secular material?

[6] This influence is particularly noticeable in the Charlemagne romances, cf. the mentions of relics in *Charles the Great* (EETS. OS. xxxvi–xxxvi, pp. 37, 200) and *Ferumbras* (EETS. ES. XXXIV) and the supernatural use of fire in *The Sege off Melayne* (EETS. ES. XXXV). Manifestations of heavenly power occur in *Guy of Warwick* (EETS. ES. xlii, xlix, lix) and *The Kyng of Tars* (Ritson, AEMR. II). The efficacy of masses for the dead is illustrated in *The Aunters of Arthur* (L. Laing, *Anc. Pop. Poetry of Scotland*).

In *Partonope of Blois*, (EETS. ES. cix), the bishop of Paris, endeavoring to win Partonope away from his fairy mistress, tells him a "nobell story" of saints who were victorious over the devil. *Huon of Burdeus* (EETS. ES. xl, xli, xliii, 1) introduces a legendary story of Judas. Sudden conversions to Christianity are frequent in the romances. Sarrazin (Koelbing, *Alteng. Bibl.* III, xxiif) thinks there may be a Latin legend at the basis of the French Octavian. Cf. J.E. Matzke, P. M. L. A. xix, 449ff. *The Legend of S. George: its development into a Roman d'Adventure.* Many more instances of the direct influence of legend on romance might be collected.

[7] *History of English Literature, Norman Conquest to Chaucer.*

between the figures of romance and religion . . . because both embodied men's ideals and were together ever present in mediaeval minds."

Very definite evidence of the fact that certain writers of legends were romance readers is found in the direct reference to such reading. From *De Principio Creationis Mundi*, MS. Ashmol. 619 Alteng. Leg. N. F.

> "I sate and lokyd on a romance,
> Was made in þe lond of France." (vv. 9–10.)

From *A Tale of an Incestuous Daughter*, MS. Cbr. Ff. V. 48, fol. 48 (Alteng. Leg. N. F.)

> "In romans as we rede." (v. 45).

From *Purgatorium Sancti Patricii*, Auchinl. MS. (Eng. Stud. I).

> "And al þai seyd commonliche,
> Þat non of hem wold sikerliche
> do bi his techeing,
> bot ȝif he *dedeþat roman*,[1]
> into helle went þan,
> to bring hem tiding." (stanza 3).

The writer of the *Disputisoun bytwene a Cristenemon and a Jew*[2] was, it is clear, a reader of romances or an interested listener to tales of Arthur and the Round Table, for he causes the Christian in his story to see at the Other World castle he visits,

> "al þe Rounde table good,
> How Arthur in eorþe stod
> O þe grounde grey—
> Hit was a wonderful siht:
> As þei weore quik men diht,
> To seo hou þey play." (vv. 182 ff.)

Familiarity with romances, on the part of writers of legends, is indicated in the conventional descriptive phrases of romance which appear very frequently in legends. These phrases are so common as to be easily recognizable, I judge, without citation of parallels from romances. The heroes of legends are customarily spoken of in terms associated with chivalry:

> "Bitwene oxe and an as
> I bore was *þat kniht*."

> "Oþer apostles *of prys*,
> Poul and Pe er þe wys,
> And seint Jon þe Baptys,
> Was *douhti of dede*."[3]

[1] Kölbing's note explains "dede pat roman" as "carried out that adventure."
[2] See below, p. 21.
[3] *The Disputisoun*, vv. 43–44 and vv. 230ff.

"Myn owne knihtes ȝonder ise,
Þei *ride feire in riche wede.*"[1]

"Lazarus spendede al is Þouȝht: opon his *chivalrie.*"[2]

"An boÞe partys ne was non
So feir a kniht of fflesch and bon,
Ne non so douhti was of armes."[3]

"And by a knyght it sall be talde,
Þat was *hardy, wyghte & balde.*"[4]

. . . "*he was of chivalrye flour.*"[5]

A favorite simile of romance is occasionally used:

"Als a wude lion Þan he ferd."[6]

"A spows scho toke, with hir to dwell,
Þat als a lion was fers and fell."[7]

"When Þe Emperoure Þir wordes herd,
Als a wode lyonhe ferd."[8]

The customary phrases are used to describe physical strength and prowess:

"A Riche kyng hiȝte Andwere,
Þat *stif was on stede and stere.*"[8].

"ffor muchel men Þei weore and stiÞe."[10]

"A squyer mykel of myght."[11]

"Of shap he was semely & feyre,
Of lymes large & longe."[12]

Many other commonplaces of description appear: "fure als he ware welland wode;"[13] "in sikelatoun and pal;"[14] doghters "milde of mode;"[15] "both meke & milde;"[16] "a doghter faire and fre;"[17] "comly lady,

[1] *Placidas*, Vernon MS. (*Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 57) vv. 486–7.
[2] *Magdalena*, MS. Laud 1089 (*Alteng. Leg.*, Heilbronn, 1878) v. 55.
[3] *E Narracio bede*, Vernon MS. (*Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 57) vv. 13–15.
[4] *De Miraculo beate Marie*, Thornton MS. (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) vv. 10–11.
[5] *Roberd of Cisyle*, Vernon MS. (*Alteng. Leg.*, Heilbronn, 1878) v. 14.
[6] *S. James*, MS. Harl 4196 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) v. 104.
[7] *S. Cecilia*, MS. Harl. 4196 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) vv. 135–6.
[8] *S. Catherine*, MS. Harl. 4196 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) vv. 593–4.
[9] *Of Amon and of Mardocheus*, Vernon MS. (*Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 57) vv. 3–4.
[10] *Placidas*, (op. cit.) v. 631.
[11] *The Childe of Bristowe*, MS. Harl. 2382 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) v. 15.
[12] The Same, vv. 29–30.
[13] *S. Cristofer*, Thornton MS. (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) v. 885.
[14] *S. Mergrete*, Auchinleck MS. (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) v. 55.
[15] *S. Nicholas*, MS. Harl. 4196 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) v. 110.
[16] *S. James*, MS. Harl. 4196 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) v. 120.
[17] *S. Bartholomew*, MS. Harl. 4196 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) v. 138.

gente & fre;"[1] "þat cumly" and "þat semly;"[2] "riche gifftes given are;" "þare was myrthe & gammen & gle;"[3] "he liuede muchel In weolþe and blis."[4]

The description of women, especially, offers an opportunity for the use of conventional romance phraseology. There is the usual comparison to the rose: "þat schyned as lilie and Rose flour,"[5] "Her rudde redder it is Than the rose is in the rayne,"[6] "Bright as blosome on brere;"[7] "to whalebone or other customary standards of whiteness: "whyt as whales bone,"[8] whiter "Than bone is of whale,"[9] "white as melke,"[1] "whyt as ony swan;"[11] of hair to gold wire:

> "hyr here was ȝelow as þe wyre
> Of gold, fynyde with þe fyre."[12]

We have also the conventional descriptive phrases: "of glistering hew,"[13] "þat maiden briȝht," and "Hou briȝt sche is, no tonge may telle,"[14] "ful faire of hide and hew,"[15] A maiden milde, cumly and clene," and "þe semlyest at euer was sene," [16]"a byrd bryght," "semely unto syght," and "lovesome of chere,"[17] "semelyche of hewe,"[18] The fayrest þat myȝt on erthe goo."[19]

In legends written in the tail-rime strophe, it is easy to find examples of rhyme tags, such as are common to the romances:

> "þe muchele hert atorn away,
> þe knyȝt rod after niȝt and day
> Bi himself al-one." (vv. 25–27)

> "Of many hertys & bestys also,
> Of more & lesse þer wer moo,
> He was þe feyrest of alle." (vv. 22–24)

> "Louerd, for þe loue of þe
> To sori nulle ich neuer be,
> *Fare hou ich fare.*" (vv. 190–92.)

> "þere was ioye and blisse I nouh
> þe enperour on him he louh,
> *And kniȝt and sweyn and grom.*" (vv. 262–4).

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[1] From a legend of the Virgin, MS. Ashmol. 61 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) v. 163.
[2] *Of Sayne Johne pe euangelist*, Thornton MS. (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) vv. 46 and 99.
[3] *Alexius*, MS. Ashmol. 42 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) vv. 70 and 73.
[4] *Of Amon and of Mardocheus*, Vernon MS. (*Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 57) v. 6.
[5] *Pe conuersion off Pelagie*, Vernon MS. (*Herrig's Archiv*) vol. 57) v. 42.
[6] *The Tale of the Smyth and his Dame*, (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) vv. 295–6.
[7] *The Tale of the Smyth and his Dame*, (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) vv. 214.
[8] *Seynt Katerine*, MS. Caius Coll. 175 (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) v. 282.
[9] *The Tale of the Smyth and his Dame*, (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) v. 220; cf. same, v. 529.*t*
[10] *S. Margarete*, by Lydgate, (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) v. 414.
[11] *S. Katerine*, Caius Coll. MS. 175 (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) v. 752.
[12] *Susanna*, MS. Cotton Cal. A. II, fol. i (*Herrig's Archiv*, 62) vv. 192–3.
[13] Partridge's *S. Eustas* (op. cit.) v. 13.
[14] From a legend of the Virgin, MS. Auchinl. fol. 37b (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) vv. 63 and 64.
[15] *S. Agatha*, MS. Harl. 4186 (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) v. 3 and *S. Cristina*, same MS. v. 5.
[16] *S. Catherine*, MS. Harl. 4186 (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) vv. 121 and 122.
[17] *The Tale of the Smyth and his Dame*, (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) vv. 204, 208 and 303.
[18] *Susanna* (op. cit.) v. 185.
[19] *Tale of an Incestuous Daughter*, MS. Cbr. Ff. V, 48 (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) v. 14.

"We weren ȝonge children two,
Mi litele broþer and ich also,
In halle and bour of ston." (vv. 310–12.)

"Mi moder wes a fair wimmon,
In al þat londe nes swich non,
Of huide ne of heue." (vv. 325–27)

"Hoe fond me palefrey and stede,
Helm and brunie and oþer wede,
And swerd and spere wel briȝte." (vv. 358–60)

"Þe ploumen wel þat I-seye,
And blewen out horn in þe leye,
Stark men and couþe." (vv. 352–4)

"And blewen out horn in þe leye,
Bi norþe and eke bi souþe." (vv. 341–2.)[1]

The last mentioned phrase is found in the legend, *Coment le Sauter noustre dame fu primes cuntroue* (also from MS. Digby 86, Alteng. Leg. N. F.):

"Bi norþe and eke bi souþe." (v. 100).

In this legend we have another equally common tag:

"Bi day and eke bi niȝtte." (vv. 6 and 221)

This occurs likewise in the tale of *The Smith and His Dame* (Alteng. Leg. N. F.), vv. 12 and 56. In the Land MS. of *S. Patrick's Purgatory*, we have

"bi tide wat me bi tide."

An interesting verbal resemblance occurs between the opening lines of *The Vision of Tundale*[2] and those of *Sir Gowther*.[3] This was pointed out by Wagner, in his edition of Tundale. *Tundale* has:

"Jhesu, lorde of myȝtes moste,
Fadyr and sone and holy gooste." (v. 1f.)

Sir Gowther has:

"God, that art of myghtes most,
Fader and sone and holy gost." (v. 1f.)

Breul, *Sir Gowther*, p. 166, cites invocations similar to that of *Sir Gowther* from *Thornton MS.* fol. 189; *Bone Florence of Rome*, 1677–78;

[1] *S. Eustas*, MS. Digby, 86 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.)
[2] See below, p. 17.
[3] Utterson, *Select Pieces of Popular Poetry*, I.

The Sowdon of Babylon, 1311–12; *Emare*, 837; *Reinbrun. Gy sone of Warwick*, Auch. MS. 167b. The last-named is even closer to *Tundale* than is *Sir Gowther;* it reads:

> "Jesu, at ert of miȝte most,
> Fader and sone and holy gost."

A verbal parallel has also been noted between the legend of the *Falmouth Squire* and *Thomas of Erceldoun.*[1]

From F. S. "He lede hym to a comly hylle:
The erth opyned, & he in ȝede." (vv. 95f.)

From T. of E. "Scho ledde hym jn at Eldone hill." (v. 169)

The appeal of the minstrel for attention is frequently found at the beginnings of legends. Though it is known that stories of saints were read before monastic audiences, it seems very improbable that these introductory speeches sprang from the necessity of enforcing silence there. They have precisely the form of those prefixed to the romances, and are clearly conventional:

> "Lustne lordynges, leof and dere,
> ȝe at wolen of þe sonday here."[2]

> "A god sampull I wyll ȝou telle,
> To my tale if ȝe take hede."[3]

> "All tho that be crystenyd & dere,
> Lystenyth, and ye may here."[4]

> "The best song that euer was made
> Ys not worth a lekys blade,
> But men wol tende þer—tille.
> Therfor y pray you in þis place,
> Of your talkynge þat ye be pes,
> Yf it be youre wille."[5]

> "Princes proude þat beþ in pres,
> I wil ȝou telle þing nobles."[6]

> "And if ȝe wille ȝeue lestyng,
> ȝe shollen here riȝt guod þyng,
> Er ȝe hannes wende."[7]

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[1] See below, p. 39, on the entrance to the Other World.
[2] *S. Paul*, Vernon MS. (Morris, *OE. Miscellany, EETS*, OS 49, App. III).
[3] *The Falmouth Squire*, MS. Rawlinson 118 (*Herrig's Archiv* 79) vv. 51–52.
[4] *S. Kateryne*, MS. Cbr. F f. II. 38, n24 (*Alteng. Leg.*, N. F.) vv. 1–2.
[5] *The Childe of Bristowe* (op. cit.) vv. 7ff.
[6] *Roberd of Cisyle* (op. cit.) vv. 1–2.
[7] *Canticum de Creatione*, MS. Trin. Coll. Oxf. 57 (*Alteng. Leg.* H. 1878) vv. 13–15.

"Old & ȝonge, þat here be,
Lystyns a whyle unto me,
What I schall ȝou sey."[1]

The adoption in legends of the meters commonly used in metrical romances, has been studied by Brandl (article *Mittelenglische Literatur*,[2] in Paul's *Grundriss*, II Bd. i Abt., pp. 609–718) and by Ebert (*Allgemeine Geschichte der Lit. des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, Leipzig, 1874 and 1880, vol. II). According to Brandl, the first adoption of a secular meter by a religious writer is seen in the Southern Passion[3] (thirteenth century), which is in septenaries. The eight-line cross-rhyme strophe began to predominate in the spiritual poetry of the Midland during the period 1250–1350. The short couplet first appears in spiritual verse as early as the *Eleven Pains of Hell*, a piece based upon the Visio Pauli.[5] French influence is clear in this poem. The epilogue is in French. In France, there had been an early use of secular forms for religious purposes.[6] The meter which exercised the strongest influence on the style of the legends was the tail-rime strophe.[7]

The foregoing citations of resemblances in phraseology and meter have established the probability that there was some actual use of material from the romances, in legends. This study, however, is not intended to prove that there was, in many cases, direct borrowing. It is an attempt to show primarily, that the material used was common to both forms of literature, and only secondarily that there was any influence of romances upon the writers of legends. With regard to the legends, my study is limited to those in Middle English

[1] *S. Mergarete*, MS. Ashmol. 61 (*Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) vv. 1–3.
Similar appeals are made in *S. Katerine* (MS. Auchinl. fol. 21, *Alteng. Leg.* N. F.) and *S. Katerine* (MS. Caius Coll. 175, *Alteng. Leg.* N. F.); in *The Tale of the Smith and his Dame* (from an early edition, *Alteng. Leg.* N. F.); in a legend of the Virgin (MS. Ashmol. 61, *Alteng. Leg.* N. F.); in *S. Magdalena*, MS. Laud 108 (*Alteng. Leg.* H. 1878); in the *Tale of an Incestuous Daughter* (MS. Cbr. Ff. V. 48, *Alteng. Leg.* N. F.); in *Ipotis* (MS. Vernon, *Alteng. Leg.* II. 1878); in the *Dispute between Jesus and Wise men in the Temple* (Vernon MS.); in Marina (MS. Harl. 2253, *Alteng. Leg.* II. 1878).

[2] P. 619.

[3] *EETS.* OS. 49.

[4] Brandl, p. 633.

[5] Pr. *EETS.* OS. 49; *Herrig's Archiv s*, lxii. Many Anglo Norman legends had been written in the octosyllabic couplet.

[6] See Morf, *Herrig's Archiv*, cxi, p. 122; Bartsch, *Ztsch. f. rom. phil.* VIII, 570; Meyer, Romania, xvii, 429; Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique in Fr. au M. A., Rom.* XVIII, 477. A monograph by Miss Helen Sandison, *The Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English, Bryn Mawr College Monographs* vol. XII, 1913, gives some bibliography of secular and religious chansons d'aventure, in French and in English. The borrowing of meters is of course only one phase of the constant interworking of secular and religious poetry, as shown, for example, in the landscape of the allegorical love poems and court-of-love visions, which is essentially that of the paradise in the visions. See below, p. 16.

[7] On the use of this meter, see Caroline Strong, *The Tailrime Strophe in Latin, French and English, P. M. L. A.* 1907. The various theories as to the origin of the tailrime strophe are stated by Miss Strong. This is an early Latin form, appearing in Latin hymns as early as *De Contemptu Mundi*, ascribed to Theodatus, in the tenth century, but it is not found at all up to the fifteenth century in Latin narrative poetry, either secular or religious. The earliest specimen of rime couée in French is contained in a manuscript of the twelfth century. In English the earliest specimen of the stanza seems to date toward the end of the thirteenth century. In early legends, however, it was not frequently employed. Miss Strong has counted thrity-two romances in the tailrime strophe. Late legends in this strophe, which show conventional romance phraseology, may be supposed to have adopted their meter also from romances.

which deal with the religious vision of the Other World. The theme is one conspicuously paralleled in the metrical romances recounting visits to fairyland.

The confusion of the two conceptions of the Other World is natural not only on the ground of their similarity, but because of the extreme popularity of both forms. The immense vogue of romances is recognized by every student of the period. Religious visions, though not perhaps so familiar to modern readers, were also widely known and read. There was a tremendous development of legend writing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Saints of one country were adopted in o hers, and the church was constantly increasing the number of saints' days. Legends were read at services on such days, and exempla from the lives of saints were added to sermons. The saints were familiar personages, to whom prayers were to be addressed in times of need. They appeared in art. Pilgrimages were made to their shrines. The accounts of their lives (and deaths) were the most popular religious literature of a devout people. And among legends, the visions were highly popular. Favorite visions traveled rapidly from one language into another and there are very large numbers of MSS. extant of some of the visions to be discussed below. It was inevitable that there should be much interchange of material between the two forms of fiction, romance and vision.

In limiting a discussion of legends to those which appear in M. E., one must draw a rather arbitrary line between the legends in English and those in Latin or Norman French which were also a part of the literature of mediaeval England. A large number of Anglo-Norman works of this kind are listed in the article of P. Meyer, on French legends, *Histoire Litteraire*, XXXIII, 328ff. G. H. Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, p. 134, has calculated that there are "something like seventy-five poems in French, written on English soil, dealing with the lives or miracles of about fifty different saints or biblical characters." But since few of these are visions, the present limitation of field seems justifiable. There are French versions of most of the vision legends which we find in Middle England, and there seem to have been few visions composed in England in Latin except those which appear also in English.[1] Mention should be made of one important Latin vision of which there are no English MSS., the *Vision of Thurcill*.[2] Although some rare features appear here, such as a theatre where fiends look on at a performance by the damned, the details of hell, purgatory and paradise are largely drawn from previous visions. The Middle English visions are then fairly representative of their type of literature.

In order to understand the visions in Middle English, and their relations to secular literature, it is well to review the early history of this form. The vision type of religious literature came down through the centuries from a very early period. I shall try to suggest by a

[1] See the list of Anglo-Latin legends in Gröber's *Grundriss der Rom. Phil.* II, i, p. 273ff. (165–166).

[2] Printed in Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History*, ed. H. O. Coxe, Eng. Hist. Soc. 1841. Cf. Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II, 506ff. and Ernst J. Becker, *Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Johns Hopkins diss., 1899, p. 96ff.

brief sketch, the sources of that tradition which came into the hands of mediaeval scribes, and in which they made various modifications. The legend of a visit to the Other World appears in several overlapping lines of early tradition, the oriental, the classical, and the ecclesiastical. The ecclesiastical visions were clearly the direct sources of much material that find in the Middle English legends. The *Bible* itself offers no very close analogies to the vision literature which we are considering. Such visions as those of *Revelation*, or Ezekiel, i–x, were probably the chief scriptural contributions to the work of the writers of visions. Scattered Biblical references to another world have been collected by Félice,[1] by Becker,[2] and by other historians of the vision. Mere mention, however, of *hell* (Ezek. xxxi, 16, 17, and xxxii, 27, etc.); *the pit* (Is. xiv, 15; Rev. ix, 1, etc.); *hell fire* (Matthew v, 22; xviii, 8, 9; xxv, 41, etc.); or a *lake of fire* (Rev. xx, 14, etc.), contribute little to the conception of a visit to the Other World. Far fuller examples of the vision may be found in the apocrypha.

The beginnings of this literature, however, are to be dated much earlier than the early Christian or immediately pre-Christian visions, and the briefest survey of Oriental and classical works of this kind shows how various were the sources from which the Christian vision may have drawn. Chaldaean literature contains descriptions of places corresponding to heaven and hell, and resembling in many respects the regions visited by Christian visionaries.[3] Brahministic and Buddhistic visits to another world than this, offer many parallels to Christian accounts.[4] Indian visions of paradise also contain analogies to the Christian Other World.[5] The Indian realm of bliss is paralleled in the Persian *Avesta*.[6] Chaldaean and Persian legends probably furnished many images to Jewish writers who adopted the vision type. Most of the Other World material of the *Avesta* appears in the Vendîdâd, and as this is the pre-Alexandrian part of the text, it was early enough to influence Hebrew thought before either Hebrews or Persians had come under the influence of the Greeks.

The relations between the Oriental and the Greek Other World, and between the latter and the Christian heaven and hell, are exceedingly complex. According to the theories of Rohde,[7] Dieterich [8]and

[1] Philippe de Felice. *L'Autre Monde*, Paris. 1906, p. 110ff.
[2] Becker, op. cit. pp. 21, 25.
[3] See the adventures of Gilgames, in *The Dawn of Civilization, Egypt and Chaldaea*, by G. Maspero, edited by A. H. Sayce, translated by M. L. McClure, N. Y., 1897, pp. 574ff. Cf. the descent of the goddess *Ishtar* to hades, Dayce, *Hibbert lectures*, 1887, translation.
[4] These have been studied by Lucian Scherman, *Eine Art Visionärer Höllenschilderung aus dem indischen Mittelalter, Rom. Forsch.* V. The earliest one extant is found in the *Markandeya Purana*, X, 59ff., ed Bancrjea, trans. by Pargiter, in *Bibliotheca Indica*. Upham, Hist. of Buddhism, points out resemblances between the Buddhistic hell and the inferno of the *Divine Comedy*.
[5] Texts from the *Rig-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda* refering to paradise have been translated by J. Muir, *Original Sanscrit Texts*.
[6] *Avesta* II, 16ff., translated by Darmesteter, in *Sacred Books of the East*, ed. Max Müller. The *Avesta*, in its present form, dates from the first and second centuries A. D. So it is uncertain how much archaic material there is in it.
[7] Erwin Rohde, *Psyche· Seelencult und Unsterblichkeit der Griechen*.
[8] Dieterich, *Nekyia, Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*.

Nutt[1] there was among the Greeks in pre-Homeric times, belief in a non-eschatological Elysium, which is reflected in the works of Homer. The account of Ulysses' descent into Hades in the Odyssey, book XI may be a late addition to the epic.[2] The ethical nature of the Other World is emphasized here, and the likeness to the Christian visions is in many respects striking. The ethical significance of the Other World conception in Greek literature from the fifth or sixth century B. C. on, is probably due to the extension of the Orphic-Pythagorean doctrines.[3] There are Greek myths of visits to the Other World, in the stories of Demeter, Orpheus, Theseus and Peirithoös, Herakles and others. Descriptions, in Greek literature, of a golden age[4] or a non-ethical Utopia[5] use material similar to that of the Other World visits. Accounts of mythical geographic locations are perhaps not to be confused with stories of an extramundane paradise;[6] yet the two conceptions have much in common. The Fortunate Isles, the Garden of the Hesperides, Calypso's Isle, and the land of the Phoeacians, have something of the character of heaven in the visions. Two visions from the work of Plato will be referred to later.

Latin literature took up the Greek ethical conception. Plutarch, four centuries later than Plato, has a vision, the story of Thespesius,[7] which somewhat resembles Plato's narrative of Er, but approximates rather more closely to the Christian visions. Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* is a vision which had a strong influence on mediaeval writers, but which, except in his wide view of the universe, bears little resemblance to the religious visions. The sketch given by Horace, *Epode* XVI, is a quite conscious literary working-over and amplification of earlier myths. Virgil, who rehabilitates the Greek Other World myths, is important because of his wide popularity, and because, on account of his *Fourth Eclogue*, he was claimed by the church as a prophet, during the Middle Ages. The visit of Aeneas to Hades contains many elements duplicating the characteristic features of the Christian visions. Aeneas has a guide, the Sibyl. He approaches the lower regions through a cave and along a dark way. He meets friends there. He sees, gaping below, the ghost world, Tartarus, abode of endless pain, twice as deep as heaven is high above earth. He sees also a paradise of green plains, fragrant trees, music and light. Another account of a descent into Hades, the story of Orpheus, owes its best known form and its greatest popularity to the versions of Ovid and Virgil.[8]

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[1] Alfred Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*.

[2] Cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*Homerische Untersuchungen* p. 199) who suppose the passage interpolated by Onomacritus, a leader in the Orphic cult.

[3] Dieterich, *Nekyia*, attempts to show direct influence of Orphic mysticism on early Christian visions. Dieterich's lead was followed by Percy Gardner, in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1895. These conclusions are disputed by Dr. K. Kohler, in *Jewish Quarterly Rev.* June, 1895.

[4] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, trans. A. W. Mair, v. 119ff.

[5] Pindar, *Tenth Pythian Ode*.

[6] Cf. accounts of the Hyperboreans, treated by Rohde, *Griechische Mythologie und Religions-geschichte*, Munich, 1897, p. 380ff.

[7] In the essay, "*Of Those Whom God Is Slow to Punish*," in Plutarch's *Morals*, Goodwin's trans., IV, 177ff.

[8] The mediaeval reworking of this story into the form of a romance (the Breton lay of *Sir Orfeo*) and the addition of characteristic fairy motives (such as the entrance to Hades) (see below, p. 43), show the close association which existed between the several types of Other World conceptions.

The apocryphal visions were the direct sources of much of the conventional material in the Middle-English visions. An interesting pre-Christian vision is the *Book of Enoch*.[1] A work which probably exercised a stronger influence on succeeding literature is *The Revelation of Peter*.[2] The vision of S. Paul shows clearly the influence of the *Revelation of Peter*, and it is through the Pauline vision especially that the other work influenced many mediaeval visions. One of the editors of the vision of Peter has pointed out resemblances in it to a number of later works of this type:[3] the vision of Josaphat, in *The History of Barlaam and Josaphat;*[4] *The Apocalypse of Esdras;*[5] *the visions of Saturus and Perpetua;*[6] the story of *Zosimus;*[7] the account of the "lost tribes" in the *Conflict of Matthew;*[8] the *Acta Thomae*.[9]

A number of visions later than those just mentioned are interesting for several reasons: they precede those visions which are found in Middle English; they were apparently popular in the Middle Ages and therefore extensive in their influence; they represent reappearances of the earlier vision material. Such works are the *Visit of Seth to the gate of paradise;*[10] the *Shepherd of Hermas;*[11] the Vision of *Saint Salvius;*[12] the *Pilgrims of Saint Macarius;*[13] the *Vision of Carpus;*[14] the story of a monk, Peter, told by Gregory the Great.[15]

It is impossible, in this very brief history of the traditional vision, to consider all the mediaeval visions in histories and chronicles, such as the *Vision of William* in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais or the visions in the works of Matthew Paris. Many of these, moreover, are versions of well known visions which also occur in Middle English. A list and summaries of various brief local Latin visions are given by Fritsche in *Romanische Forschungen* II and III.[16] The mediaeval vision received of course its highest literary shaping in the hands of Dante.

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[1] Pub. R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1893. *Enoch* consists of a number of writings of varying characteristics and probable dates, and there is in it a large body of interpolations. The Ethiopic version belongs to the second and first centuries B. C.

[2] Pub. J. Armitage Robinson and M. R. James, in *The Gospel According to Peter and the Revelation of Peter*, London, 1892. This is probably a work of the first century of our era, although the Greek text (discovered in Egypt in 1886 and first published in 1892 by the French Archaeological Mission at Cairo, and by Robinson and James) is not earlier than the eighth century.

[3] *Rev. of Peter*, p. 58ff. (cf. Robinson, *Passion of Perpetua*, p. 37ff.).

[4] Boissonade, *Anecd. Graeca*, IV, 280, 360 (passage trans. by James, *Rev. of Peter*, p. 58ff.)

[5] Greek text, Tischendorf, *Apocall. Apocr.* pp. 24–33. Trans. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, 371f. Date, 15 century MS., vision probably written about ninth century.

[6] Latin and Greek texts publ. Robinson, *Cambridge Text and Studies*, I, ii. Greek MS. tenth century, Latin MSS., tenth and twelfth centuries. Date probably earlier than the end of the third century.

[7] Described in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, publ. James, *Comb. Texts and Studies*, II, iii, 87ff.

[8] Trans. Rev. C. S. Malan, *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*, p. 44. Quoted in James, *Revelation of Peter* p. 70. A passage consisting largely of the same material appears in the *Carmen Apologeticum*, V. 947ff., of the third century Latin poet, Commodian. Cf. the description of the earthly paradise in the *Phoenix* (below, p. 32 n. 2.)

[9] Trans. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII.

[10] The *Revelation of Moses*, trans. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, 565f. (cf. English version in the Cursor Mundi, EETS. OS. 57. cf. the *Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor Mundi*, by Haenisch.)

[11] Gebhardt, Harnack and Zann, *Patrum Aposolicorum Opera*, trans. by Hone, *Apocryphal New Testiment*.

[12] Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* book VII, chap. i.

[13] Surius, *De Probatis SS. Vit. 23 Oct.*

[14] In the *Writings of Dionysius the Areopagite*, ed. Corderius, 1755–56, I, 608ff.

[15] *Dialogues*, IV, 36. Publ. in *S. Gregorii papae I . . . opera omnia . . . studis et labore monach. ord. S. Benedicti* II tom., Paris, 1705.

[16] *Die Lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des XII-ten Jahrhunderts.*

Elsewhere than in the visions there is much description of heaven and hell, which may not be entirely ignored. One important passage of this sort, dating from the third or fourth century of our era, is at the close of the second *Sibylline Oracle*.[1] The *Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus*[2] should be mentioned here because of its strong influence on mediaeval authors. It has, however, practically none of the usual vision machinery.

The Anglo-Saxon visions must be mentioned because of their resemblances to both earlier and later work of this type. Anglo-Saxon writers were much concerned about the Day of Doom and the torments of the Other World. In the poets may be found scattered references to hell, and in the homilists detailed accounts of it.[3] The Anglo-Saxon homilies transmit portions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and they contain references to the early Christian visions, in particular to the *Visio Pauli*, as well as resemblances to those visions. Bede's vision of *Furseus*[4] and vision of *Drihthelm*[5] will be discussed in some detail later. Considering the great popularity of Bede's work in England during the Middle Ages, and the high reverence paid to it, we may judge that his visions formed an important link between the visions of early Christian literature and those of Middle English. The story of Drihthelm is alluded to in Mirk's *Festial*[6] and is included in the *Nova Legenda Anglie*[7] as one of the "narrationes" following the life of S. Adrian.

The early appearance, the wide prevalence, and the long continuation of the vision, are indicated in Scandinavian[8] and Celtic[9] literature.[10]

The political and satirical adaptations of the type show its popularity in the Middle Ages, and prove that it was by no means a form

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[1] *Oraculs Sibyllina*, publ. with German trans. by J. H. Friedlieb, Leipzig, 1852.

[2] Pub. B. H. Cowper, *Apocryphal Gospels*, London and Edinburgh, 1867. Trans. in Apocr. *New Test.* pr. for William Hone, London, 1820.

[3] Studies of the Anglo-Saxon idea of hell have been made by Waller Deering, *The Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day*, Halle, 1890, and by Ernst Becker, *The Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Johns H. diss., Baltimore, 1899. cf. Grimm *Deutsche Myth.* II, 652. I do not agree with Deering that the A. S. poets, in picturing hell, "have made but little direct use of any Latin originals, but have for the most part simply embodied current belief." (p. 60). Deering makes much of the Germanic coloring; but the details of it which he especially emphasizes, such as water and cold in hell, are found in early Christian visions. The A.-S. conception of hell may have been influenced by German mythology; it undoubtedly shows also an acquaintance with Latin accounts.

[4] The vision of *Furseus*, although it has been claimed as an Irish hagiological product (Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*) is found, in its first extant version, in Bede's *Hist. Eccles.* III, xix.

[5] *Hist. Eccles.* V. xii.

[6] EETS. ES. 96. Date, c. 1400.

[7] Ed. Horstmann, I. 15ff.

[8] *The Voyage of Bran*, I, 295ff. Wright, *S. Patrick's Purgatory*, in his "appendix of illustrative pieces p. 177, prints an Icelandic vision from the Edda of *Saemundr*. Dr. Selmar Eckleben, in his study of S. Patrick's Purgatory, also treats Scandinavian legends.

[9] The most important Celtic vision of heaven and hell is the *Fis. Adamnain* (ed. Windisch, Ir. Texte, I. The trans. by Whitley Stokes is reprinted and discussed by Boswell, op. cit.). The conception of a happy Other World found in early Irish romances written from a Christian point of view, is undoubtedly pre-Christian in substance, for the Irish to a singular degree, in their acceptance of Christianity, retained their pagan traditions. The inter-working of pagan tradition and Christian vision literature resulted in a body of Irish visions which influenced the legends of England and the continent.

[10] Legends of various nations are discussed by MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction* p. 438, n. 2, who refers to Other World myths found among the Finns, Tartars, Esthonians, Chinese, Japanese, Anios, Maoris, Melanesians, Red Indians, and Eskimos.

set apart and guarded from contact with secular interests. The political use of the genre was treated some years ago in an article by M. Charles Labitte.[1] Labitte commences his article with a reference to the *Dream of Gontram*,[2] a vision in which Gontram, brother of Chilperic, saw three bishops arguing over the question whether his deceased brother should be consigned to hell or to purgatory. As Labitte points out, such a tool as this was valuable in the hands of the clergy at a time when the church was becoming ambitious to rule in temporal as well as spiritual matters. Other important political visions are those of the monk of Wenlok,[3] who sees the soul of Ceolred, the yet living king of Mercia, tortured by fiends, while angels refuse him their protection; and of Wettin,[4] who sees Charles the Great atoning for his excesses. A number of similar works are mentioned by Labitte; by Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, Leipzig, 1874 and 1880, I, 659 and II, 256, 273f.; and by Ward, *Cat. Rom.* III, 399, 433, 350. Labitte, since his article is on the relation of the earlier visions to Dante, makes constant reference to Dante's contemporary allusions. Several of the visions given by Labitte, and others of the same sort, are summarized by Fritzsche, in *Romanische Forschungen*, II, 276ff. and III, 339ff. Partisan feeling is often shown in later legends, as in the story of S. Wulfstan, where the Norman kings are portrayed as strangers and usurpers; the legend of Thomas a Becket, in which the victory of church over king is celebrated; and *S. Patrick's Purgatory*, where Owen asserts that the gray monks are those who have the greatest joy in paradise.

Burlesques on the visits to the Other World are met with as early as Greek literature. Athenaeus[5] gives some passages burlesquing paradise, and Aristophanes, in the *Frogs*, introduces a burlesque visit to Hades. The use of mock pilgrimages to the Other World in the work of the trouvères is discussed by Labitte and Fritzsche. Wright, in his book on *S. Patrick's Purgatory*, gives some account of fabliaux in which visions of purgatory are burlesqued. *The Land of Cockayne*, which satirizes not only the joys of paradise but also the earthly life of the monks, was a work well known in western Europe during the Middle Ages. It exists in Middle-English. The Celtic representative of the mock paradise of eating and drinking, the *Vision of Mac Conglinne*,[6] is a most amusing travesty on the vision. *La Cour de Paradis*[7] describes a court ball. Another odd story of this kind is that of the visit made to Archbishop Heriger of Mainz (10th century) by a prophet who claimed to have seen the O. W. When the holy man tells of the thick woods he saw in this land, Heriger mockingly remarks that he will send his swine to pasture there. Parodies of

[1] *La Divine Comedie avant Dante*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1842.
[2] Greg. Tur., Hist. franc. VIII, 5.
[3] Told by S. Bonifatius, *Epistle* X, pub. in *Monumenta Maguntina* ed. Jaffé, Berlin 1866.
[4] Walahfrid Strabo, *Works*, ed. Migne, Paris, 1852.
[5] *Athenaei Deipnosoph.* lib. VI, c. 94ff.
[6] *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, ed. and trans. by Kuno Meyer.
[7] Le Grand d'Aussy, Fabliaux, V, 66ff.

saints' lives in French flourished toward the end of the fifteenth century.[1]

The vision was used as a device in mediaeval allegory, especially in France[2] and in Spain.[3] It was a popular setting in court-of-love writing. The hell of love is described by Petrarch in his *Trionfi*, and Boccaccio has a *Hell of Cruel Beauties*. W. A. Neilson, in an article in *Romania*,[4] discusses the "purgatory of cruel beauties."[5]

Discussion of Middle English Legends

Some of the M. E. visions show the predominant influence of the apocryphal visions and of the subsequent examples of the traditional type. An analysis of the traditional vision shows that it consists of the following parts:

1. The journey to the Other World.
2. The Other World.
   Hell (or hell and purgatory).
   Heaven (or heaven and an earthly paradise).
3. The return.

These divisions I shall consider, citing examples of the traditional type from pre-Christian or early Christian visions, and then noting features, both traditional and variant, which are paralleled in romances. The extant M.-E. vision legends are:

The Vision of S. Paul.
The Vision of Tundale.
The Revelation to a monk of Eynsham.
S. Patrick's Purgatory.
The Falmouth Squire.
The legend "Of a monk desirede to seo þe leste blis of paradys."
A disputisoun bytwene a Cristenemon and a Jew.
The Voyage of S. Brendan.

The Journey

The visitor to heaven and hell in the very early visions is usually caught up, sometimes under the guidance of supernatural beings, and borne away through the air. In the apocryphal *Book of Enoch*, the seer of the vision takes such a journey:

Section XIV. "And the vision appeared to me thus . . . (winds) lifted me up into heaven and I came till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals."

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[1] Cf. P. Meyer, article on French legends in *Hist. Litt.* XXXIII.

[2] Cf. Raoul de Houdan's *Le Songe d'Enfer* and *Road to Paradise*, and cf. S. L. Galpin, *P. M. L. A.* XXV, 274, and *Rom. Rev.* II. 54, and *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, XVIII, 787ff.

Cf. C. R. Post, *Mediaeval Spanish Allegory*, in *Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*, 1915.

[4] *Romania* XXIX, 85ff.

[5] Spenser's "lost" work, *The Hell of Lovers, His Purgatory*, seems to have been a poem of this kind. Spenser's work is identified by P. M. Buck, Jr., in *P. M. L. A.*, 1908, and by Miss Helen Sandison, in *P. M. L. A.*, 1910, with his *Hymn in Honour of Love*, which describes the torments of lovers.

In the *History of Barlaam and Josaphat*, Josaphat is carried to paradise by "certain terrible beings."[1]

Saturus and Perpetua are led by four angels to a pleasure ground (evidently paradise).

S. Paul, whose vision has its source in a fourth century original,[2] tells of his journey as follows: "An angel said to me: come, follow me, that I may show thee the place of the just, where they go after their end. And I went along with the angel, and he brought me up into the heavens."

Sometimes the visionary falls into a sleep or trance, during which he makes his visit to the Other World. An early Christian vision with this introduction is the *Vision of Saint Salvius*. Salvius had apparently died of a fever, but he revived and after three days told his convent that he had been carried by two angels to heaven. Gregory the Great tells of a monk, Peter, supposed dead of an illness, who revived and testified to having seen a huge sea of flame, etc.

Two Anglo-Saxon legends continue this traditional opening, the vision of Furseus and that of Drihthelm. According to Bede, there came out of Ireland a holy man, Furseus, who built a monastery in the province of the East Saxons. One day the saint fell into a trance, and left his body from evening until cockcrow. "He was found worthy to behold the choirs of angels, and to hear the praises which are sung in heaven.[3]

Bede's vision of Drihthelm has many of the elements of the earlier continental visions. The man called Drihthelm, during an illness, supposedly died at the beginning of a night. In the morning, however, he suddenly revived. His soul had left its body and had been guided by one with a shining countenance and a bright garment, to the regions of the Other World.

Of the Middle-English visions, that of Tundale[4] corresponds most closely, in its opening, to the earlier visions just mentioned. Tundale visits a man who owes him three horses, to collect his debt, and finding the debtor unable to pay him, falls into a rage. His body becomes stiff and cold, and remains so for three days. He then regains consciousness and narrates his vision. He first found himself in a dark place surrounded by demons. From these he was rescued by his guardian angel, etc.

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[1] See below, p. 25. I quote from the translation of the Greek MS.

[2] Trans. referred to above, p. 13, n. 4.

[3] From Gile's translation.

[4] The Vision of Tundale exists in a large number of Latin MSS. Albrecht Wagner, who prints a Latin prose text based on the seven oldest MSS. (*Visio Tnugdali, lateinisch und altdeutsch*, Göttingen, 1882), mentions fifty-four, dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. The Vision was evidently a widely-known legend. Versions exist in French, Anglo-Norman, German, Italian, Icelandic, Irish, Spanish and Portuguese (cf. Mussafia, *Sulla Visione di Tundalo, Wiener Sitzungsberichte, philos.-histor. Classe*, vol. 67, pp. 157ff.). The first publication of a Latin version was by Schade, *Visio Tnugdali*, Halle, 1869. Five previously inedited texts were published by V. H. Friedel, and Kuno Meyer, *La Vision de Tondale (Tnudgal), textes francais, anglo-normand, irlandais*, Paris, 1907. There are five manuscripts of an English metrical version of the early fifteenth century (as to dates, cf. Wagner, *Das M-E. Gedicht ueber die Vision des Tundalus*, Halle, 1893). The work is thought to have been composed by an Irish monk writing in Germany. Six of the Latin MSS. belonging to the twelfth century contain a prologue by the author, "frater Marcus," addressed to the abbess "G." For speculations as to the identity of the abbess, see Wagner, (*Visio Tnugdali*, p. xxiv. "Marcus" announces in his prologue that he has translated the vision from Irish ("de barbarico") into Latin, and gives it the date 1149.

The monk of Eynsham,[1] in some versions called Edmund, during an illness, falls into a trance which lasts from the night before Good Friday until Easter Eve. Upon his recovery he tells of his vision. Guided by S. Nicholas he was taken first to view the places of torment, etc.

With *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*,[2] we begin to see a wide variation from the tradition, and an entrance into the Other World decidedly similar to that which is often found in the romances. The knight Sir Owen decides to visit S. Patrick's Purgatory. He goes down into a pit and through a hollow way under the earth which is very dark. At last he sees far ahead a light, toward which he makes his way. He comes into a fair field, where stands a hall, "þe nobleste þat mi3te beo."[3] After Sir Owen has seen the torments of hell and the delights of the earthly paradise, beyond which lies heaven, he passes out through the cave which he entered, to earth again.

The knight Sir Owen, like the knight of romance visiting fairyland, journeyed to the Other World in the flesh. Owen is identified by B. de Roquefort,[4] and by Legrand D'Aussy[5] with Ivain, son of Urien. There is no necessity, however, for such an identification.[6] Owen is a common name, and is the one usually chosen by English or Anglo-Irish writers to represent the Irish Eogan.[7] The author of the vision, who in one of the Latin versions, calls himself "frater H, monachorum de Saltereia minimus,"[8] gives the following account of Owen. Gilbert of Louth (afterward Abbot of Basingwerke, in Flintshire) was sent into Ireland to obtain lands for a monastery. As Gilbert did not understand Irish, the Irish king with whom he was treating ordered his knight Owen to act as Gilbert's interpreter, and Owen remained for two years and a half at the monastery built for Gilbert. H. of Saltrey asserts that he heard Gilbert tell the story, and that he questioned two Irish abbots about it, one of whom

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[1] This vision exists in seven Latin manuscripts, of which those in the British Museum are described by Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II, 493ff., and those at Oxford by Sir Thomas D. Hardy, *Cat. of Materials for British History*, I, i, 78–9, 81. There are also versions of this vision in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris. A Latin account compiled from eight manuscripts and the version of William de Machlinia, is given in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXII. The English version printed by William de Machlinia, probably about 1482, is published in Arber's *English Reprints*. The date 1196 is given in the prologue to the vision, in the text inserted in the chronicles of Wendover and Matthew Paris, and in the mention of this vision made in the preface to the vision of Thurcill. The author was Adam, sub-prior of the monastery at Eynsham.

[2] This legend exists in a large number of Latin MSS. Those in the British Museum are described by Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II, 435ff. The most complete Latin version was printed by John Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae*, II, Louvain, 1647. Colgan's version is reprinted by E. Mall, *Rom. Forsch.* VI, 143ff. Bibliography of the Latin legend as it appears in the chronicles is given by Mall and by Philippe de Félice, *L'Autre Monde*. There are three ME. versions of the legends. The relationships of the Latin, French and English MSS. are discussed by *Kölbing, Eng. Stud.* I, 57ff. *Kölbing* concludes hat the French and English versions derive from a non-existent Latin version more complete than any we have. There are of course versions in many languages. A bibliography of works relating to the versions in romance languages is given by d'Ancona, *I Precursori di Dante*, Florence, 1874.

MS. Arundel 292 (Latin) assigns to the adventures of Owen the date 1153, and Roger of Wendover gives this date. The date at which the legend was written has been generally placed about 1189.

[3] MS. Land 108, v. 102.

[4] *Poésies de Marie de France*, Paris, 1820, II, 403.

[5] *Fabliaux ou Contes*, Paris, 1829, V, 99.

[6] Cf. A. C. L. Brown, *On the Independent Character of the Welsh Owain*, *Rom. Rev.* III, 143ff.

[7] Ward, Catalogue of *Romances in the British Museum*, II, 435, note.

[8] John Bale, *Scriptorum Brylannie Catalogus* (1557) p. 189 calls him "Henricus," and Bale has been generally followed by later writers.

declared that these matters were quite new to him, while the other said he had often heard of them. H. consulted also a certain Bishop Florentianus, who stated that the place lay in his own diocese and that the stories about it were true.

The cave which Sir Owen entered, as we know from later accounts,[1] was located on an island in Lough Derg, County Donegal. We are by no means obliged to believe in the existence of a historical Sir Owen, but it is entirely natural that a vision localized in a real cave, which might be seen and entered by all visitors, should be associated with an actual and conscious visionary. It is impossible to tell whether or not the cave was in existence earlier than the legend of which it is the scene. Felice thinks the names given to it in the oldest Latin texts apply, not to a natural cavity, but to an artificial structure,[2] and remarks that the place as described by earlier visitors and as seen by himself, seems to have been artificially constructed. He compares it to such mounds in Ireland as Knowth, Dowth and New Grange. If the cave, however, was a natural phenomenon, it was very likely regarded early as an entrance to hell or purgatory.[3] Remarkable phenomena of nature usually seem to carry with them such associations, and everyone knows of devils' caldrons, devils' washbowls, hell-gates, etc. So this cave as an entrance to purgatory may have had as definite a place in popular superstition as did the sidhes of Ireland, well known as the abodes of fairies.[4]

The regular canons of S. Augustine who, in the twelfth century, built a priory on the island in Lough Derg, may have foreseen the profit which would accrue to them from the attachment of a story of the popular vision type to their cave. That such a localization of the entrance to the Other World was acceptable to the mediaeval imagination, is clear from the subsequent history of the cave.[5] The natural affinity of this legend with the material of Arthurian romance was evidently recognized by a French writer of the sixteenth century, Etienne Forcatel (Stephanus Forcatulus) who, in his *De Gallorum Imperio et Philosophia*,[6] tells of an expedition to the purgatory

[1] For references, see note 5, below.

[2] The terms are puteus, antrum, fossa, spelunca, rotunda, fovea, scrobis, iputo cellier.

[3] It has several times been suggested that the scene of this story is a reminiscence of the cave of Trophonius, described by Pausanius (cf. Legrand D'Aussy, V, 98). Caves, craters of volcanoes, and various openings in the earth have been regarded in classical times and in the Middle Ages as passages to Hades or to hell (cf. Wright, p. 60, and Felice, p. 161, n. 3). For references to folklore credence in underground entrances to hell, wee Wright, p. 102f., and Grimm, *Deut. Myth.* II, 670ff. Cf. the cave of Cruachan, called "Ireland's Gate to Hell," originally an entrance to the fairy world (on the popular confusion of friends and fairies, see below, p. 100ff). A statement of belief as to the underground location of hell appears in the legend of *S. Michael Archangel*, printed by Stiehler in *Anglia*, VII, 407f.:

"Pe ryȝte put of helle is amidde erþe wiþinne."

[4] Knowledge of the cave at Lough Derg, though not of this particular vision, seems to be indicated in the narrative of Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topographia Hibernica*, Distinctio II, cap. 5, *Rolls Ser.* pp. 82–3) who alludes to the purgatory of S. Patrick as existing in this place, but does not mention Owen, and does not describe the purgatory as it is described in H(enry)'s narrative.

[5] Accounts of visits to the purgatory by later pilgrims from various contries are collected and discussed by Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II, 466f. and 484ff.; by Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, pp. 135ff. and 152ff.; by Félice, op. cit. pp. 52ff.; by Krapp. *The Legend of Saint Patrick's Purgatory: its later history*, J. H. diss., 1900, passim; by Gaidoz, *Rev. Celt.* II, 482ff.; by L. Leger, *Rev. Celt.* IV, 105.

[6] Publ. Paris, 1589, p. 1007 (mentioned by Félice, p. 52f.).

undertaken by King Arthur. Arthur descended into the cave, but was called back by Gawain, who dissuaded him from attempting the adventure.

The feature of entrance through a cave is one particularly significant in the comparison of this legend with certain romances.[1] Such a mode of entrance is frequently used in romances recounting visits to the Other World. In the lay of Yonec,[2] after the bird-lover of the heroine has been mortally wounded and has disappeared, the lady follows him by the bloody tracks he has left. She is led to a cave which she enters. She then finds herself in darkness, but she follows a road until she emerges into a beautiful meadow, from which she can see a city that seems all of silver. In Gawain et l'Echiquier,[3] Gawain, pursuing the magic chessboard, makes his way into fairyland through a crevice in the rock. Sir Orfeo[4] follows the fairy cavalcade "in at the rock" for three miles, until he comes to a fair country as bright as day.

In the legend of *The Falmouth Squire*,[5] the entrance is of another common romance type. This legend commences with a lecture on faithfulness in wedlock. The writer then continues:

> "A god sampull I wyll 3ou telle,
> To my tale if 3e take hede." (vv. 51f.)[6]

In the town of Falmouth there dwelt two brothers, the elder of whom was unfaithful to his wife. The brothers were slain in a fight one day, and the youngest went to paradise, the elder to hell. The elder brother left a son, a young clerk fifteen years of age, who made great moan over his father's wickedness. This child went every night to his father's grave to pray for him. One night there came one in a white surplice and took him by the sleeve, promising to let him see his father burning in hell fire.

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[1] The comparison of Sir Owen's expedition with the descent of Aeneas into Hades, has naturally been made. Entrance into another world through a cave occurs occasionally in other early non-Christian stories: in Plato's tale of Timarchus (In *A Discours concerning Socrates' Daemon*, Goodwin's trans. II, 407ff.) and in the Chaldaean story of Gilgames (op. cit). Mention must be made of these instances, since the possibility of influence from them on *S. Patrick's Purgatory* may not be excluded. It seems much more probable, however, that the influence of Irish folklore on the legend was strong enough to supply to it a feature which was also probably furnished by folklore to a number of romances.

[2] *Die Lais der Marie der France*, ed. Karl Warnke, 2nd ed. Halle, 1900.

[3] Extant only in a Dutch version edited by Jonckbloct, *Geschildernis*, Vol. I, summarized by G. Paris, *Hist. Litt.* XXX. 82.

[4] The lay of *Sir Orfeo*, Ritson, *A. E. M. R.* III.

[5] The legend to which I give this title is one of several tales which I have included in my list because, although they are not, strictly speaking, saints' lives, they are visits to heaven or hell, or both, and they appear among legends. This story exists without title in seven Middle-English MSS. MS. Ashmole 61 has, directly preceding this legend, a poem which appears alone in three other MSS. This poem is printed as a prologue to *The Falmouth Squire* by Furnivall (EETS. XV) who gives it the title, *Sir William Basterdfeld's Warning*. I agree with Miss Leonard (*Zwei Mittelenglische Gedichten aus der Hölle*, diss. Zurich, 1891, p. 49f.) that there is not sufficient ground for considering it a prologue, since it occurs in conjunction with the other poem in only one manuscript, and since the other has an introduction of its own and both have concluding addresses of warning to the readers.

The most comprehensive piece of work which has been done on these two poems is the dissertation of Miss Leonard mentioned above, in which the poems are edited, the *Falmouth Squire* from MS. Cambridge Min. Lib. Ff. II, 38. fol. 48 r. ff., with variations from other MSS. The dissertation is reviewed by Kölbing, Eng. Stud. XVI, 87ff. Miss Leonard dates the poem in the first half of the fifteenth century. She finds no source for it.

[6] Rawlinson MS. 118, Bodl. Lib. Pr. Horstmann, *Herrig's Archiv*, 79.

"He lede hym to a comly hylle:
The erth opynd, & he in ȝede.
Smoke & fyre gane þer oute welle,
And many soules glowand in glede." (vv. 95ff.)

Such an opening into fairyland is common in romances. *In the Turke and Gowin*,[1] we find:

"He led Sir Gawaine to a hill soe plaine;
The earth opened & closed againe. (vv. 66–67).

There is a similar entrance in Thomas of Erceldoun;[2] .

"Scho ledde hym jn at Eldone hill,
Undir-nethe a derne lee;" (vv. 169f.)

In the romance of Reinbroun,[3] the hero, who has been riding all morning toward the land of a fairy knight, sees gates before him in a hillside, through which he rides and which are fastened behind him. Entrance to the fairy world through a hillside opening is very common in Celtic story,[4] and in folklore generally,[5] material which may be mentioned here as affording probable sources for the feature as it appears in the romances.

The same mode of entrance appears in *A Disputisoun bytwene a cristenemon and a Jew*.[6] Here a dispute takes place in the city of

[1] *Percy Folio* MS. vol. I.

[2] EETS. OS. 3. *Thomas of Erceldoun* was mentioned in this connection by Wright, op. cit. p. 87ff. Miss Leonard, op. cit., cites the lines:
"He ledd hym tyl a comely hylle" (Falm. Sq. 101).
"Scho ledde hym in at Eldone hill" (T. of E. 169).
and also the lines:
"He ledd hym to a feyre herbere" (Falm. Sq. 149).
"Scho lede hym untill a faire herbere" (T. of E. 177).
She thinks the legend-poet may have known *Thomas of E.* and points out that according to dates this is possible, since *Thomas of E.* dates 1400–1401 (Brandl, p. 38), while the legend is later than 1399 (Schroder, *Anz. f. d. Alt.* VIII, 123).

[3] *EETS.* ES 59.

[4] *Echtra Nerai*, *Rev. Celt.* X, 212ff. *The Wooing of Etain*, d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de Litt. Celt.* II, 317. *Caoilte's Visit to Assaroe*, in *The Colloquy, Silva Gadelica*, ed. S. H. O'Grady, trans. vol. II. *The Three Sons of Lughaid Menn* (The Colloquy). *The Boyish Exploits of Finn mac Cumhaill, Ossianic Soc.* IV, 281ff. *The experience of Aedh, son of a king of Leinster* (*The Colloquy*). *Finn and the Man in the Tree*, *Rev. Celt.* XXV, 344ff.

[5] *Padyeen O'Kelly*, in Hyde's *Beside the Fire*. *The Two Shepherds*, in Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, II, 109f. *The Smith and the Fairies*, Campbell. *Kirkcud-bright Fairies*, Campbell. Rhys, Celtic Folk Lore, I, III, and II, 456ff. ("Welsh Cave Legends" Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*, p. 75. The story of Elidorus, Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb.* liv. I, cap. 8. *The Green Children*, William of Newberry, *Hist. Rer. Angl.* liv. I, cap. 27. Many other tales in almost all collections; cf. Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*.

[6] This legend belongs to the *Southern English Legendary*, a collection which is contained in a number of MSS. dating from about 1300 to the sixteenth century. (cf. Horstmann, *Alteng. Leg.*, Paderborn, 1875, p. iv. ff. G. H. Gerould, Saint's Legends, p. 161, remarks that we cannot be sure of the "terminus a quo." These MSS. differ considerably from one another, both in the order of the legends and in the text. To some of them, new legends have been added by scribe-editors. The *Disputisoun* is probably such an addition, for it exists only in the Vernon MS. (fol. 301). The legend is printed by Horstmann, *Alteng Legenden*, Heilbronn,n 1878, p. 204ff., and by *Furnivall*, Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., EETS. OS. 117. Three strophes of the poem, vv. 145–192, are printed in Warton's *History of English Poetry* (ed. Hazlitt, III, 181ff.)
A study of the source of the *Disputisoun* was made by Dr. Carleton Brown, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXV (1910) p. 141ff.
Horstmann (*Alteng. Leg.* Heilbronn, 1828, p. 204, note) says, in regard to the authorship of the poem, "Es ist im Dialekte und wahrscheinlich vom Dichter der *Susanna*." As to Huchown's identity and work, if Huchown is indeed the author of *Susanna*, see *Athenaeum* I, 52, 19, 81, 114, 145, 176, 213, 224; Herrig's Archiv, XII, 406, 411; MacCracken, in P. M. L. A. XXV; J. T. T. Brown, *Huchown and his* Poems, etc.; C. Reiche, *Untersuchungen*, etc., H. O. Sommer, *Anglia* XXIII; T. P. Harrison, P. M. L. A. VIII; Trautmann, *Anglia* I; Rücke, *Beitrag z. Lösung der H. Frage;* Brandl, in Paul's *Grundriss;* Brade, *Ueber H.'s Pystyl of Sweet Susan*, etc.

Paris between two men, one of whom is a Christian man of England,[1] the other a Jew. The Jew wagers three tuns of wine with the Christian that he will show him Christ on the cross, and all who were with him when he was crucified. The Christian agrees to accept the Jew's faith if he is shown this sight. On the following day he rises at dawn and says his matins and sings his mass. He then says to himself that he will bear "god" (the sacrament) with him, since there is no enemy in hell so fierce that he will not flee if he hear of our Lord. The two men set out and go to a hill, where the earth opens and a path appears. Going down the path, they proceed along a street paved clean with gravel until they reach a beautiful mansion:

"For heo wenten on þe feld
To an hul þei biheold.
þe eorþe cleuet as a scheld,
On þe grounde grene."

"Sone fond þei a *stih* (path)
þei went þer-on radly;
þe cristene mon hedde ferly
What hit mihte mene.

"Aſter þat stiȝ lay a strete,
Clene I paued wiþ grete."

A unique variation of the traditional approach to the Other World in ME. visits to heaven and hell, is that in *The Voyage of S. Brendan.*[2] Brendan voyages from island to island, visiting the earthly paradise, an island which Brendan perceives to be a portion of hell, the promised land, for which the saint was searching, and other strange regions. The relation of this legend to the Irish imrama has been fully discussed.[3] Its Celtic affiliations are unmistakable. The location of

[1] At the end of the story, the announcement is made that the Christian is Sir Walter of Berwick (apparently Berwick-upon-Tweed, an old fortified border town in the extreme northwestern part of England). According to the first stanza of the legend, the wager was laid in Paris, and according to the last, Sir Walter was dwelling in Rome, where the pope gave him power "to sayle and to schrive."

[2] The earliest Latin version of *The Voyage of S. Brendan* is given in a life of S. Malo, by Bili, the manuscript of which (Royal 13. A. X. ff. 63–98) was probably transcribed before 1000 (cf. Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II, 517). This MS. was published by Dom Fr. Plaine, and A. De la Borderie, for the Societe Archeologique du Department d'Ille-et-Vilaine, in *Bulletin et Memoires*, tome xvi, pp. 167–256, Remes, 1884. A later Latin version with the full account of the voyage, has been published by Achille Jubinal, *La Legende Latine de S. Brendaines*, Paris, 1836, and by Carl Schröder, *Sanct Brendan. Ein lat. und drei deutschen Texte*, Erlangen, 1871. Jubinal's text is reprinted by Moran, *Acta Sancti Brendain*, Dublin, 1872. C. Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, Upsala, 1900, prints a composite Latin text.

There are twelve ME. Manuscripts, three of which have been printed: MS. Land 108 (date 1280–90) by Horstmann, *Early South Eng. Legendary*, *EETS.* OS. 87; Harl. 2277 (1300) by Thos. Wright, *Percy Soc.* XIV (1844); Ashmol. 43 (first half of 14 cent.) by Horstmann, *Herrig's Archiv* 53, p. 17ff., and (with variants) by Balz, *Die ME. Brendanlegende des Gloucester-legendars*, diss., Berlin, 1909.

[3] Zimmer, *Brendan's Meerfahrt. Ztschr. f. d. Altert.* XXXIII, 129, 257, and *Ztschr. f. verg.; Sprachf.* XXXII, 160; Kuno Meyer, *Mittelirisches Gedicht auf Brendan, Kon. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Sitzungsber.* 1912, p. 436. See also on this legend, Schirmer, *Zur Brendanuslegende, Leipziger habilitationsschrift*, 1888; Steinweg, *Die M. S. Gestaltungen d. lat. Nav. B., diss.*, Halle; Achille Jubinal, *La Legende latine de S. Brendaines*, Paris, 1836; Fr. Michel, *Les Voyages merveilleux de S. Brendan a la recherche du paradis terrestre*, Paris, 1878; Wright, *S. Patrick's Purgatory*, p. 91ff.; Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, I, 108 and passim; Balz, *Die M-E Brendan Legende des Gloucesterlegendars*, diss., Berlin, 1909; Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, p. 211; Carl Pfitzner *Das Anglo-Normanische Gedicht von Brendan;* Articles by O'Donoghue, *Rev. Celt.* XVI, 246, and Brown, *Rev. Celt.* XXII, 339. Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, p. xxiv ff.; Plummer, *W.SS. Hib.* I, xli f. A. C. L. Brown, *From Cauldron of Plenty to Grail, Mod. Phil.* XIV, 385.

the Other World across the sea is common in Celtic literature other than the imrama.[1] Without going into the question of the relations between Celtic tales and European metrical romances, I shall cite several romances in which such an oversea voyage occurs.

In *Huon of Burdeux*,[2] there are two journeys to an Other World across the sea, and before Oberon's palace there is "marueylous great ryner and depe" (p. 597), over which Huon and his wife have to be ferried in a boat.[3] In Partonopeus of Blois,[4] the hero, lost while hunting, finds his way to the sea and goes on board a ship. Soon the ship sails off with Partonopeus alone on it, and after a day and night, brings him to fairyland. Reinbraun,[5] approaching an O. W. caslte, finds before it water thirty yards deep, which he must ride through. Ogier the Dane[6] is shipwrecked and left alone on a rock at the foor of the castle of Avalon. The Arthurian Avalon should of course be mentioned here. Guigemar[7], finding an empty ship, takes a voyage in it to the Other World. The O. W. of the Turke and Gowin[8] is located across water. In Eger and Grime[9] the land of the supernatural combatant Graysteel is across a river. In Le Bel Inconnu,[10] the castle of the Ile d'Or is situated across water. So the location of the fairy world across the water is a common feature of romances. The particular modification of this location by which S. Brendan voyages from island to island does not affect the fact that a tradition as to an Other World across the sea is common to our two literary types.

There are two brief legends in Middle English, besides *S. Brendan*, which describes the visits of saints to regions oversea. These are interesting for comparison with secular material, although no mention is made in them of heaven or hell. One is the story of S. Fremund,[11] who, with two companions, sets sail in a little barge, without "vitaile or worldly purveiance." After being driven by the wind for five days, without "oore or rowyng,"[12] the voyagers arrive at an island where there are fair mountains, running rivers and crystalline wells, large meadows and lusty green plains, and trees laden with wholesome fruit. S. Fremund lives there seven years and then returns home.

In the other legend,[23] the body of S. Antonius is being conveyed in

[1] Cf. *The Voyage of Bran*, Meyer and Nutt. London, 1895; *Echetra Condla Chaim* trans. d'Arbois, *Cours*, V, and Joyce, Old Celtic Romances; *Tochmarc Emire*, trans. K. Meyer, Arch Rev. I and Miss Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, London, 1898; *The Lay of Oisin* in *Tir na-n Og, Oss. Soc.* IV; *The Adventures of Art in Tir Tairngiri*, trans. R. I. Best, *Eriu III; Echtra Thaidg Mheic Chain*, trans. *Silva Gadelica* II. The same location of the fairy O. W. is found in many Celtic folk tales.

[2] EETS. ES. 40–41–43–50.

[3] See *Huon*, pp. 358, 439, 379, 584.

[4] EETS. ES. 109.

[5] Op. cit.

[6] In the prose version publ. Paris, 1498; not in the early chanson ed. by Barrois.

[7] Die Lais der Marie de France, ed. Warnke, 2nd. ed. Halle, 1900.

[8] Percy Folio MS. I.

[9] Percy Folio, MS. I.

[10] Ed. Hippeau, Paris, 1860.

[11] Pr. by Horstmann, *Alteng. Leg.* N. F. 376ff. The Latin source of this legend is a poem contained in MS. Cbr. Dd. XI, 78 fol. 105 (13 century).

[12] A self-navigating boat occurs also in *S. Brendan*, in the voyages of both Barintus and Brendan. References to such boats in romances and in Celtic literature are given by Dr. Brown, op. cit., Mod. Phil. XIV, 392.

[13] Pr. by Horstmann, *Anglia* IV, 109ff., based on a Greek work trans. into Latin by S. Jerome.

a ship to constantinople. An adverse wind drives the ship northward for forty days. At the end of this time the voyagers pass an island inhabited by smiths who menace them, but who, at the intercession of S. Antonius, are smitten down and burned. Supernatural threatening smiths appeared in *The Voyage of S. Brendan.*

In each of the modes of entrance mentioned, there is some difficulty of access to the Other World. The difficulties encountered may be classed together under the term given to such obstacles by students of Celtic literature, the "perilous passage." Where the entrance is through a cave, there is usually a dark passage. In *Brendan*, when the voyagers are nearing the promised land, they run into a thick mist.[1] The "perilous passage" is often a bridge.[2]

In citing the parallels from romances, I mean to assert not that there was, in many cases, direct borrowing, but that there was Other World material common to writers of romances and writers of legends. That there was some direct borrowing, we have good reason to conclude, and that there was knowledge of secular romances, and interest in them, on the part of writers of religious romances, we have seen. Since, however, we are often uncertain as to the direct antecedents of both romances and legends in Middle English, we may safely go only so far, in most instances, as to predicate the existence of a common stock of Other World material.

The Other World

Immediately preceding the description of the O. W. in some versions of *S. Patrick's Purgatory*, is a detail which coincides interestingly with certain romance material. The adventurous knight, at his entrance into the land he visits, is met by twelve men in white garments. These men greet him kindly and warn him that he will be attacked by fiends. If he yields, he will be carried away body and soul, but if he is steadfast, thinking of God and calling on Christ, he shall be quit of all his sins and shall see the joys into which good men are brought, and the torments of wicked men. The white clothed men then vanish and fiends rush in. MS. Land 108 and MS. Ashmol. 43 name twelve men; Auchinleck MS. has thirteen; MS. Cotton Caligula A. II, fifteen. The main Latin version, substantially the same in eight MSS., names fifteen. E. Mall, Rom. Forsch., VI, 142, states that the Bamberg Latin MSS. from which he prints, is the only Latin MS. known to him which has the original number, twelve. Becker, The Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell (p. 92), remarks that there are fifteen men, although "in the romances the favorite number for a small company is twelve—perhaps a reminiscence of the twelve apostles." I should s uggest that the number of the company of knights often surrounding the hero or adventurer was derived from the twelve "doucepers" of the Charlemagne romances (whatever may be the relation of the doucepers to the apostles). The company of twelve appears again in

[1] The mist, either on land or at sea, is a common feature of the Celtic visit to the O. W.

[2] See below, p. 27 ff.

the M.-E. versions of *S. Brendan's Voyage*, where the saint takes with him that number of companions, objecting vigorously to the presence of two others who insist upon entering the party. In the Latin version, the number chosen by the saint is fourteen. Three others who insist upon going, meet with misfortune and fail to return. The choice of the number twelve in certain versions of *S. Patrick's Purgatory* and in the late redaction of S. Brendan may perhaps be due to the influence of early romances or chansons de geste.

Hell

Following this welcome into the O. W., comes the visit to hell. The descriptions of hell in visions are of little importance in the comparison with romances. Their traditional form may be sufficiently illustrated from the *Vision of S. Paul.*[1]

S. Paul, visiting hell under the guidance of the archangel Michael, saw first a number of burning trees on which souls were hung by their hands, feet, hair, ears, arms or tongues. He was then shown a caldron burning with seven colors, in which there were seven pains: snow, ice, fire, blood, adders, lightning or flame, stench.

He saw also a burning wheel under which there were a thousand grisly pains. Five times a day the angel operated this wheel, tormenting a thousand souls each time.

He saw a flood full of devilish beasts like fish, toads, adders, snakes, which gnawed the sinful souls in the water. Over this flood was a long, high bridge. The souls of good men passed over this bridge without harm, but wicked souls fell from the bridge into the flood, where they were plunged to varying depths.

He saw a dark place where usurers were eating their own tongues.

He saw black-clothed women in boiling pitch and brimstone. Burning dragons and serpents hung about their necks, gnawing them and tearing the flesh from their bones. These were women who had been unchaste before marriage, and who had killed their children.

He saw a crowd of lean people before whom lay much meat which they could not eat. These were people who would not observe fast-days or who disdained plain food.

He saw an old man who sat weeping over his evil life, among four, foul yelling devils.

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[1] This legend was originally written in Greek. The only extant version, which is supposed to be that mentioned by Sozomenus (*Hist. eccles.* VII, 19, in *Nicene and Past-Nicene Fathers*, second series, Schiff and Wace), and by S. Augustine (*Ninety-eighth tract upon S. John*, published in Migne, *Pat. Lat. XXXV*, co. 188), is printed by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 34ff., from a manuscript not earlier than the fifteenth century. Tischendorf dates the Greek legend 380 A. D. An English translation is given in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, 576ff. Latin versions of the vision exist in many MSS. (discussed by Herman Brandes, *Neber die Quellen der Mittel-Englischen Paulus-Vision*, Halle, 1883, p. 8ff.; by Paul Meyer, *Romania* XXIV, 357; and by Ward *Cat. Rom.* II, 397f.). A Latin *Visio Pauli* is printed by M. R. James, *Texts and Studies, Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*, ed. J. Armitage Robinson, Cambridge, 1893, vol. II, part 3. Mr. James states that this is the only complete Latin version, and that it exists in only one MS. (Nov. Acq. Lat. 1631) at the Bibl. Nat., Paris. It dates from the eighth century. Mr. James considers all the versions in modern languages, except the Slavonic, directly dependent upon the Latin versions. Five French versions are mentioned by Paul Meyer, *Romania* VI, 11. Seven Middle-English versions have been published. A study of the relations of the Latin, French and English versions, has been made by Brandes.

He was shown a pit with seven seals from which he was directed to stand back that he might sustain the stench of it when it was opened.

He saw a righteous soul led by angels to heaven.

He was then led by S. Michael into paradise, where he heard the songs of angels and arch-angels. SS. Paul and Michael, with a legion of angels, prayed for mercy on those below, and the Son of God granted a Sunday respite.[1]

The vision of S. Paul varies little from the traditional form of the vision. It is undoubtedly the earliest of the visions which appear in Middle-English form, going back as it does, even though with many changes and amplifications, to a fourth century original. It was probably modelled upon the *Apocalypse of Peter.* Many of the torments described resemble those of the latter vision; the appropriateness of punishment; the immersion of bodies to various depths; the appearance of blood in rivers; the souls gnawing their tongues; the punishment of child-murderesses. The snow, ice, fire, pitch, stench, serpents and adders are the customary torments of all hells. The theme of punishment has here entirely over-shadowed the conception of a happy Other World. In recounting these horrors, I am inclined to quote Partridge's address to the reader of his *Eustas:*

> "Let pacience increase by kinde
> within thy dolefull breast;"

This description, however, gives the conventional types of torment, and will serve as an example of this matter in other visions. The variations of torment in these productions are limited only by the inventiveness of the writers, and their degree of appropriateness to the sin varies according to the logical faculty of their inventors. I shall not try to classify them or draw parallels between them except where they are of some especial interest, intrinsically or in connection with the romances.

The burning trees are a unique point in this vision. The only thing at all similar in early visions is the sword-leaved forest in the Brahministic vision of hell, the swords of which fall upon those who seek refuge in the forest. This, however, does not seem to be a possible source for burning trees from which sinners are suspended. Perhaps these are an elaboration of punishment original in the *Visio Pauli.*

The souls who are unable to eat of the food placed before them, are probably due to a reminiscence of the punishment of Tantalus. The renewing of souls after torment, in order that they may endure it again and again, reminds one of the Prometheus myth.[2] This motif, which appeared in the Apocalypse of Peter, is used in several of the mediaeval visions. The burning wheel, which revolves at intervals, torturing a thousand souls at each revolution, was probably

[1] The Latin vision gives additional tortures not found in the English versions.

[2] Fiske, *P. M. L. A.* XXI (1913), 385, remarks that the Scriptural "undying worm" is touched by the myth of Prometheus in that "the organ it tortures is constantly renewed for its further feasting."

borrowed from the classical myth of Ixion, who, for his sins, was fastened to an ever-revolving fiery wheel. The amplification of one victim to a thousand would be natural on the part of a vision-writer who was interested in magnifying the torments as greatly as possible

One of the most interesting points in some versions of the *S. Paul* is the "bridge of judgment." The bridge does not appear in the Greek version of *S. Paul*, or in the eighth century Latin version published by James, but is found in later Latin versions.[1]

Six ME. versions, in seven MSS., have been published. The bridge appears in three of these[2] and is absent from three.[3] In comparing such features as this in ME. and in Latin versions of legends, it is of course impossible to distinguish those elements added by the writers of ME. visions from those which may have come through unknown intermediaries. Features prominent in metrical romances may have been borrowed from those romances by the scribes who wrote the extant ME. legends, or they may have come from sources preceding the romances in point of time. It is very probable, however, that with the increasing number of saints added to the church calendar, and the increasing interest in feast days during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, new stories were invented and legends were rewritten, with the addition of wonder tales from secular sources. The presence of the bridge in certain M-E. and late Latin versions of the *S. Paul*,[4] and its absence in the earlier Latin version, suggest the possibility of influence from romances.

Other mediaeval visions in which it is found are *S. Patrick's Purgatory*, *The Vision of Tundale*, the vision of *Stephen*, the *Monk of Wenlok* (8 century), the Italian vision of *Alberic* (1129), the vision of *Thurcill* (1206), the Irish *Fis Adamnâin* (c. 1103). The complete Latin version of S. Patrick's Purgatory contains the bridge,[5] as do

[1] These expanded Latin versions are classified by Brandes (op. cit. p. 55 n. 1) in six redactions, of which I, II and III do not contain the bridge. Brandes' lists of MSS under the several redactions are incomplete. P. Meyer (op. cit. p. 55 n. 1) lists twenty-one MSS. under the fourth redaction, of which Brandes mentioned only three. The three in Brandes' lists were fourteenth century MSS. Meyer dates redaction IV as early as the twelfth century, and states that it was widely known, principally in England, and is the source of the greater part of the versions known to us in the various literatures of the Middle Ages. The nine Latin MSS. in the British Museum described by Ward belong to IV. The bridge is mentioned in seven of the nine, and in an eighth is probably omitted only through a mistake, since the horrible river which just souls cross is mentioned.

[2] I. MS. Land 108. c. 1300. In six-line strophes. Printed by Horstmann, *Herrig's Archiv*, 52, p. 35f.

II. Vernon MS. c. 1375 (Horstmann). Short rhymed couplets. Printed by Morris, *An OE. Miscellany*, App. III, p. 223f. and by Horstmann, Eng. Stud. I, p. 293ff.

III. MS. Addit. 10036. 14 century. Prose. Printed by Koelbing, *Eng. Stud.* XXII, 134ff.

[3] I. Lambeth MS. 487. Prose. Printed by Morris, *OE. Homilies*, EETS. OS. 34, p. 41, and by Zupitza; *Alt-und Miltelenglisches Uebungsbuch*, 5th ed. p. 88ff. This is the oldest English version. It is probable that the homilies are a compilation from documents of the eleventh century (Morris, p. xi).

II. (a) Jesus College MS. 29. Latter half of 13 century (Morris). In short rhymed couplets. Printed by Morris, *An OE. Misc.*, EETS. OS. 49, p. 147f.

(b) MS. Digby 86. c. 1290 (Horstmann). Same version as II (a). Printed by Horstmann, *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 62, p. 403ff.

III. Douce MS. 302. 1426 (date in MS.) 13-line strophes. Printed by Morris, *An OE. Misc.* App. II, p. 210ff.

[4] See above, p. 25.

[5] See above, p. 18.

all the English versions. The feature occurs in the Latin prose text of *The Vision of Tundale*, printed by Wagner, and in the M.-E. *Tundale*.

The vision of *Stephen* referred to is a brief tale told in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great.[1] It was copied in the *Golden Legend* and was incorporated in the *South English Legendary*. The story is told also in Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*. According to this exemplum, a certain knight, who is in mourning for the death of his friend Stephen, has a vision as he lies asleep. It seems to him that he sees a slippery bridge, very fair and high, over a deep and swart water. Stephen, who is endeavoring to cross the bridge, is drawn downward by black men below, while he is at the same time supported by white men from above. The white men finally obtain the mastery, and Stephen crosses in safety. The black men represent Stephen's evil deeds; the white men are, in Gregory's narrative, the alms deeds he himself has done, in the English version, those his friend has performed for his soul.

A bridge of judgment is prominent in the Persian and Mohammedan accounts of the Other World.[2] It had made its way into Christian O. W. tradition even before the time of Mohammed.[3] There was clearly a traditional tendency to introduce such a bridge into the vision. Gregory's story of Stephen shows that the bridge came into Christian vision literature early enough to be passed down as an ecclesiastical tradition to later vision writers. The tendency may have been strengthened, however, by the vogue of romances in which a similar bridge occurs. The interworkings of religious and secular literature are so involved that the influence of romance in this particular need not be excluded. There are a number of romances employing the motive. In Gauchier de Dourdan's continuation of Chretien de Troyes' *Perceval*, v. 28423ff.[4] appears a dangerous glass bridge, and at v. 28825ff. there is a half-built bridge which only the best knight in the world may pass. In the *Roman van Walewein* (extant only in a Dutch version,[5] ed. Jonckbloet, Leiden, 1846–48, 2824ff.) there is a sharp, narrow bridge thrown over boiling water. Gawain is told that the river is purgatory, and that those who are destined to celestial happiness pass the bridge. In the Huth *Merlin*, II, 59, there is an iron bridge half a foot wide, constructed by Merlin, which only a brave knight may pass. (In the romances, as in the visions, the doctrine of election is very strong.) The *Mule sans Frein*[6] also has a perilous narrow bridge, which only the chosen knight (Gawain) dares to cross (vv. 238ff. and 402ff.). In *Claris and Laris*,[7] v. 22713, there is a bridge of magnetic iron which does not permit the passage of armed knights. A sword bridge appears

[1] Lib. IV, cap. 36 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* vol. 77, col. 384f.)
[2] See the *Viraf-Nameh and Khordah-Avesta*. Cf. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 277.
[3] Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II, 399.
[4] Ed. Potvin.
[5] Evidently from a lost French original (G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXX, 82).
[6] Ed. B. Orlowski, Paris, 1911. Ed. Also R. T. Hill, Baltimore, 1911, and Meon. Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux, I, 1ff.
[7] Ed. John Alton, Stuttgart Litt. Verein, 1844, Bd. 169.

in Chretien's Conte de la Charrette, w. 672ff. and 2017ff.;[1] in the prose *Lancelot;*[2] and in the *Livre d'Artus.*[3] For references to Celtic dangerous bridges, see Miss Paton, *The Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, p. 85, n. 3; *The Voyage of Bran*, I, 77; and an article by Miss L. Hibbard, *Romanic Review*, IV, 166ff.[4]

The sword bridge in Chretien is discussed by Gaston Paris (*Romania* XIII, 508), who, considering it identical with the bridge of judgment, argues that Meleaguant, since this passage leas to his realm, must be king of the dead. Miss Hibbard, in her article on the sword bridge, comes to the conclusion that Chretien's bridge is developed from a "champion's sword feat" and is not to be identified with the soul bridge of the vision. There may possibly be an unjustifiable confusion of the bridge of judgment or soul bridge, the bridge of the metrical romances, and the Celtic fairy bridge. Yet the significance of one feature common to most of these bridges seems to be underestimated, that is, its testing function. The hero of fairy lore or romance has usually been preceded in his adventure by unsuccessful questors, from whom he is distinguished by the fact that he alone is able to achieve the passage, just as the soul of a good man only, is able to cross the bridge of the visions.

This bridge in romance and in Celtic story is located in the proper situation for a bridge of trial, namely, at the entrance to the fairy Other World, or the magic castle, so that only the knight destined to succeed in the adventure may cross it. In the legends the function of the bridge is sometimes misunderstood and it is used merely as a species of torment in hell itself. This is the case in the vision of *Tundale.* The bridge occurs twice in that vision: once a thousand paces long and a foot wide and quaking constantly; again, even longer and narrower, set with sharp pikes and guarded by ferocious beasts.[5] In *S. Patrick's Purgatory* and in the vision of *Stephen*, the bridge forms the passageway to the happy Other World.[6]

In connection with the bridge as a soul-testing passage to the O. W. may be mentioned a very peculiar little incident which occurs at the entrance of the Monk of Eynsham[7] into paradise, one which I have not seen paralleled anywhere except in romance. In the gate of paradise is set a cross which is alternately raised to let in groups of favored souls, and lowered to keep out other, less desirable groups. The cross lifts to permit the entrance of the guide, S. Nicholas, but suddenly falls after him, so that his hands are withdrawn from those

[1] Ed. Potvin.
[2] Ed. H. O. Sommer, Carnegie Inst. Washington, 1911, Vol. IV, part II, p. 200.
[3] Bibl. Nat. ff. 337. Summarized by E. Freymond, *Ztschr. f. frz. Spr.* XVII, 113.
[4] The famous bridge, high in the middle, which is crossed by Cuchulainn in the *Tochmarc Emere*, has a parallel in one of the versions of *S. Patrick's Purgatory* (*Owayne Miles*, ed. Kölbing, *Eng. Stud.* I, 113–121) where there is a bridge high in the middle.
[5] Cf. the second bridge in the *Conte de la Charrette*, which is guarded by two lions.
[6] The bridge, like the rest of the vision machinery, was adapted to the uses of the court-of-love visions (see above, p. 16). In the *Vision de Amor* of Juan de Andujar (cf. Post, op. cit. p. 84), the visionary sees a line of famous lovers crossing a bridge of a single plank, beyond which rises the throne of justice.
[7] This is found both in the English version of William of Machlinia and in the Latin source. The date 1196 is given for the vision (see bibl. note, above, p. 18, n. 1). The legend was then written late enough to be susceptible to influence from romances.

of the monk whom he is leading, and the latter is left outside.[1] This mishap is paralleled in Chretien's *Yvain*.[2] As Yvain is entering the magic castle of Laudine, the portcullis suddenly falls, immediately at his back, cutting his steed in two and shearing off the spurs from his heels. In *La Mule sans Frein* (op. cit.) a falling barrier cuts off half the mule's tail.

Noticeable particularly in the accounts of hell just referred to, as well as in the pleasanter experiences to be mentioned, is a point which makes the O. W. visitors of certain Middle English visions resemble the knights of romance; that is, the reality of the men experiencing the visions. The early Christian visionaries are usually very conscious of the fact that they are seeing visions. They look on as at a remote and vast panorama. S. Paul, although he intervenes to secure a respite for the sufferers in hell, is far from experiencing any of their pains. He himself does not cross the bridge. Tundale, however, is not a mere onlooker in hell. His bodily presence is as real as that of a knight of romance who has entered fairyland through some cleft in a hill. He experiences several torments, of which the climax, in realism, is his passage across the terrible bridge, leading the cow which he had stolen. This is a touch of poetic justice which may have been original with our Irish author. The introduction of the cow seems entirely natural to one familiar with the prominence of this animal in ancient Irish literature. The monk of Eynsham, although he experiences none of the torments of hell, has, nevertheless, like Tundale, very much the air of a live man visiting a strange country, in the same way that an adventurous knight might make a visit to fairyland. Like Dante, the monk sees many of his acquaintance. An especially human touch is given by his interviews with various people, a goldsmith whom he had known and loved, a knight who had been too fond of hawking, a powerful prince (conjectured to be Henry II), an anchoress of his acquaintance, bishops, nuns, monks, clerks, etc. S. Patrick, likewise, is indubitably alive and in his senses, when he visits the Other World.

The comparison of the religious visions of heaven and hell with the secular portrayal of a fairy world, inevitably suggests the essential similarity of all conceptions of a happy Other World.[3] The pagan realm of bliss, the visions of a Christian heaven, the notion of a Golden Age, the idea of a millenium, the fairy world of folklore, are all fundamentally alike in that they body forth the eternal romantic longing for escape to a "Not-this-World." The whole mass of such conceptions may be figured as a stream flowing down through the centuries, separating at times into very different channels, yet all of much the same substance. The stream of vision literature inspired by and permeated with an ethical teaching which emphasizes the factor of punishment, is quite distinct, and yet beside it and occasion-

[1] "Sothely that my felowe sent Nycholas frely wente in and y foloude, but sodenly and onauysed the vrosse of the gate came done apon oure handys and departyd me fro my felowe sente Nycholas and when y sawe thys ful sore aferde y was." (ca. 55, Arber's reprint, p. 107.)

[2] Ed. Foerster, vv. 944ff. Cf. the English *Ywaine and Gawin*, Ritson, *AEMR*. I, vv679ff.

[3] This similarity has already been suggested by students of mythology and folklore. See especially Alfred Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, Vol. I.

ally mingling with it, is the stream of non-religious envisioning of another and happier world. In the religious literature the account of hell assumes a very prominent place, so that in some cases its bulk in the narrative and its appeal to the imagination overshadow the idea of a happy land. The study of such accounts belongs rather to the domain of abnormal psychology than to that of literature. One may merely wonder at the fertility of invention displayed by the writers, and at the extravagance of terror which must have been felt by the pious souls of the Middle Ages.

Some of the most elaborate and popular of the portrayals of hell appear in Middle-English versions, but on the other hand some Middle-English stories of visits to the Other World pay very little attention to the question of punishment or purgation. There is no reason why these later legends should be termed corrupt. Such productions as the *Disputison* or *The monk who desired to see the least bliss of paradise* really constitute a natural and interesting mutation in the vision type. Their authors have grown a little tired of the rarified air breathed by the scribes who conceived the apocryphal visions. These later mediaeval monks do not all take the matter so seriously as did their predecessors.[1] They have wandered out from under the shadow of the fear of hell, and they portray their Other World, devoutly, to be sure, but almost in a playful manner, and with reminiscences of the folk tale or the mediaeval romance. They borrow now and then from the neighboring stream of fairy lore.

Heaven

Thus the happy Other World in early non-Christian literature, in many early visions, in later secular literature (folklore, Celtic literature, certain metrical romances), and in some late visions, has a fixed character. I shall cite one or two descriptions from each of the classes I mention, to indicate this character.

Early non-Christian

Paradise as described in the Mahabharata (vv. 15407–15487) is shining and glorious, with a golden mountain and a holy garden. Hunger, thirst, weariness, cold, heat, fear, are unknown, and there is no sorrow or decay. The sounds of the place are pleasant and the scents are delightful. The blessed wear fragrant and unfading garlands.

In the *Odyssey*, it is predicted that Menelaus shall be wafted away to the Elysian Fields at the end of the world:

> "Wherein are the softest life-days that men may ever gain;
> No snow and no ill weather, nor any drift of rain;
> But Ocean ever wafteth the wind of the shrilly west,
> On menfolk ever breathing, to give them might and rest;"[2]

[1] With these later writers may be compared the occasional early authors of burlesques on the vision (see above, p. 26f.). Few early works of this kind, however, were written in England.

[2] *Odyssey* IV, 559ff., trans. William Morris.

Early Christian

The Revelation of Peter:[1]

SEC. 5. And the Lord showed me a very great space outside this world shining excessively with light, and the air that was there illuminated with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers, and full of spices and fair flowering plants, incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit; and so strong was the perfume that it was borne even to us from thence.

The Vision of Josaphat:

Josaphat passes over a plain of vast extent, where there are sweet-smelling flowers and strange and wondrous fruits. The leaves of the tree make clear music to a soft breeze and send forth a delicate fragrance. A city walled with gold shines with unspeakable brightness. In the Ethopic *Conflict of Matthew* the dwelling place of the lost tribes is portrayed: "When the wind blows, we smell through it the smell of gardens. In our land there is neither summer nor winter, neither cold nor hoar frost, but on the contrary a breath of life."[2]

Celtic Tales

The Voyage of Bran:

The island visited by Bran is charmingly described:

> "An ancient tree there is with blossoms,
> On which birds call to the Hours."
> "A beauty of a wondrous land
> Whose aspects are lovely,
> Whose view is a fair country.
> Incomparable is its haze."[3]

The inhabitants of this blissful island are free from death and decay

Oisin in Tir na n-Og:[4]

The Land of Youth is a delightful country, full of trees drooping with fruit and blossoms, delicious feasts, and melodious music.

Such descriptions occur in a number of the older Celtic stories, and the modern versions of folktales contain similar ones.[5]

Metrical romances

Huon of Burdeaux. Huon, landing at the rock of adamant, enters

[1] Cf. discussion of apocryphal visions, above, p. 13.

[2] With this may be compared a very similar description in the Anglo-Saxon *Phoenix*. The A-S. paraphrase expands the Christian element of the Latin original, and it is in the more definitely Christian part of the poem that the description occurs of the paradise where . . . "the door of heaven's realm is often opened in sight of the happy." (Gollancz's trans., *Exeter Book*, *EETS* OS. 104, vv. 11–12.)

[3] *The Voyage of Bran*, Kuno Meyer's trans., I, 2ff.

[4] *Ossianic Soc.* IV, 229ff. This poem was written about 1749, but an earlier date is thought probable for the original composition of the story (see Alfred Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, I, 151). In scenery and coloring the tale resembles stories a thousand years older.

[5] See Nutt's essay on the happy Other World. *V. of B.*, I, 144ff.

a country of sweet scented flowers and singing birds. There is a fountain of youth, with an apple tree beside it.

Reinbroun. Without the gates of the fairy knight's castle visited by Reinbroun, stood a tree with many kinds of singing birds on it.

Ywaine and Gawin.[1] Here there is

. . . "the fairest tre
That ever was in this cuntre." (vv. 325–6).

This tree is evergreen, for winter may not injure it, and it is so thick with leaves that no rain may enter it.

Erec.[2] In the "Joy of the Court" episode, there is an orchard where flowers and fruit appear summer and winter, and where the songs of birds are heard.

Visions

Some Middle English visions conform to this widespread tradition. Tundale finds paradise a place of fair flowers and sweet odors, with a fruit laden tree.[3] There is music of birds, voices and instruments. In the vision of the monk of Eynsham,[4] there is a field full of flowers, and there is music and a sweet odor. In the earthly paradise of *S. Patrick's Purgatory*,[5] there is a fair meadow with flowers and there are trees laden with fruit. Sir Owen hears merry song and melody. S. Brendan visits islands where there are trees bearing fruits, and herbs in bloom, where there is no winter, but constant fair weather, and where there is no sickness. S. Paul gives a similar description. This goes back to the Latin *Visio Pauli*, where the "places of the just" are described as having golden gates, four rivers flowing with honey, milk, wine and oil, and trees bearing fruit 12 times a year, different each time.

So far we have the universal landscape of paradise, the many-channeled stream of Other World conception. In some ME. legends, however, there are details closely resembling details of description in romances, regardless of whether the latter are Other World descriptions or not. The details are usually specific and the effect is realistic. Whereas the descriptions we have been examining refer in general terms to flowers, trees and birds, we now have these things specifically named, as they often are in romances.

A legend containing a detailed description of a garden is the *S. Patrick's Purgatory* of the Auchinleck MS.:

"Fair were her erbers wiþ floures,
rose and lili diuers colours,
primrol and paruink,
mint, feþerfay and eglentere,
calombin and mo þer were
þan ani man mai biþenke."

(Stanza 147.)

[1] Ritson, *A. E. M. R.*, I. Cf. *Iwain*, ed. Holland (*Li Romans don Chevalier an Lyon*) vv. 380ff.
[2] Ed. Foerster, vv. 5367–6410.
[3] The oldest Latin MSS. of *Tundale* furnish the description of paradise.
[4] In the original legend.
[5] The conventional description comes from the Latin original. See, however, the description of a garden in the Auchinleck MS., cited below.

"It beþ erbes of oþer maner,
þan ani in erþe growe here
þo þat is lest of priis;
euermore þai grene springe,
for winter no somer it no clinge,
and swetter an licorice."

(Stanza 148.)

There are likewise details in the description of the land visited by the Jew and the Christian of the *Disputisoun* which are not found in the probable source of the plot:[1]

"þer was erbes growen grene,
Spices springynge betwene." (vv. 177–8.)

Such details, appearing in legends the Latin sources of which contain nothing of the sort, suggest that the writers of the legends were influenced by literature in which similar details did appear. Now the mediaeval works which contained by far the greatest number of specific descriptions were the romances. Comparison should be made with such romances as *Thomas of Erceldoune*, *William of Palerne*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, *The Squire of Low Degree*. In *Thomas of Erceldoune* an arbor with fruit is described:

"Pere and appill, bothe ryppe þay were,
Thè date and als the damasee,
þe figge, and als so þe wyneberye;"

In the early part of William of Palerne,[2] there is a garden which is several times described pretty fully, but in rather general terms.[3] Roses are mentioned. Roses and "roseres" appear very often in the settings of the romances. Melior, on one occasion, sits down under a sycamore in this garden. In *William of Palerne*, vv. 1809ff., there is much realistic detail. Melior suggests that the lovers in the forest live on bullaces and blackberries, haws, acorns and hazelnuts. *In Kyng Alisaunder*[4] there is a charming description of harvest time:

"Peres and apples hongeth on bough.
The hayward bloweth mery his horne;
In everyche felde ripe is corne;
The grapes hongen on the vyne:" (vv. 5754ff.)

The Squire of Low Degree[5] contains an elaborate description, naming many kinds of trees.

In these instances, and in those which follow, on birds and on castle halls, there may have been some borrowing from romances.

[1] Cantimpre's story, see below, p. 44f.
[2] *EETS.* ES. 1.
[3] See, however, the birds mentioned, below, p. 35f.
[4] Weber, *Metrical Romances* I.
[5] Ritson, III, vv. 26ff.

But whether this was the case, or whether there was, at this period, a tendency developing in descriptive literature to use specific terms, a tendency which manifested itself in both legends and romances, it is unnecessary here to decide. It is at all events clear that there was common descriptive matter used. Further parallels might also be cited from romances in other languages than English, but since there is no effort made to trace any verbal parallels to their sources, the illustrations from English romances suffice to prove the prevalence of specific detail in description.

In some visions, various species of birds are named. The *Disputisoun* has,

> "þer was foulene song." (v. 161)

and, more specifically,

> þe þrestel song ful schille,
> He newed notes at his wille." (vv. 181f.)

In the Other World music of the *Falmouth Squire*, the author has given free rein to his ornithological interests:

> "They herd upone þe ȝatys on hyht
> Mynstrelsy with angellus songe,
> The pylycane & þe popyne-jay,
> The tymour & þe turtell trewe,
> A hondreht M. on a rewe,
> The ny ȝhtyngale with notys newe." (vv. 149ff.)

Many romances make mention of the nightingale. *Arthur and Merlin*[1] includes with it the lark, Kyng Alisaunder, the jay,[2] and *Morte Arthure*,[3] the throstle. *William of Palerne* mentions thrush and throstle.[4] In *Roswall and Lillian*,[5] we have:

"The myrle and mavese shouted shrill." (v. 481), and in *Thomas of Erceldoun:*

> "I herde þe jaye & þe þrostyll cokke,
> The Mawys menyde hir of hir songe,
> þe wodewale beryde als a belle,
> That all þe wode a-bowte me ronge." (v. 29ff.)

> "þe papeioyes faste abowte gane flye;
> And þrostylls sange wolde hafe no reste." (v. 182f.)

The Squire of Low Degree[6] gives a catalogue of birds, the lark, nightin-

[1] Ed. Turnbull for Abbotsford Club. Cf. descriptions of seasons at beginnings of parts.
[2] Op. cit. part I, chap. ii, v. 142.
[3] *EETS.* OS. 8, vv. 929–30.
[4] Op. cit. v. 820.
[5] *Eng. Stud.* XVI.
[6] Op. cit. vv. 43ff.

gale, "ruddocke," "woodwale," "pee," "popinjaye," "throstle," "marlyn," "wren," "the swalowe whippynge to and fro," "the jay," "the mavis," "the nuthake with her notes newe," "the starling," "goldfinch," "ousel" and "thrush."

The "maner" at which the Christian and the Jew of the *Disputisoun* arrive is not the lofty celestial mansion of the early visions[1] but is much more like the castle of romance:

> "Þei fond a maner þat was meete
> Wiþ murþes ful schene,
> Wel coruen and wrought
> Wiþ halles hei ȝe uppon loft.
> To a place weore þei brouht
> As paradys þe clene."
>
> On uche a syde of þe halle
> Pourpul, pelure and palle;
> Wyndouwes I þe walle,
> Was wonderli I wrouht.
> Þer was dosers on þe dees
> Hose þe cheef wolde ches,
> Þat neuere ricchere wes
> In no sale souht.
>
> Boþe þe mot and þe molde
> Schon al on red golde.
> The cristen mon had ferli on þat folde
> Þat ider was brou ȝt." (v. 165ff.)

The castle visited by Tundale in paradise is as realistic as the ordinary, non-supernatural hall of the romances:

> "They saw an halle was rychly dyght."
> (v. 1637, Turnbull's ed.)
>
> "The halle was with owtton post." (v. 1651.)
>
> "Hyt semyd an hows of gret cost." (v. 1652.)

There is nothing in the source of the legend to suggest these last two statements.

In the romances, castles in fairyland are sometimes made of jasper and of crystal, decorated with gold and set with carbuncles.[2] Often, however, they are more realistically described, and it is these struc-

[1] XIV. Enoch. And the vision appeared to me thus . . . (winds) lifted me up into heaven and I came till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals . . . I . . . drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals. . . . A flaming fire surrounded the walls of the house, and its portal bazed with fire. . . It was as hot as fire and as cold as ice. . . . And lo! there was a second house, greater than the former, all the portals of which stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And in every respect it so excelled in splendor and its extent . . . a lofty throne . . . and from under neath the great throne came streams of flaming fire.

[2] Cf. the castles in *Libeaus Desconus* (Ritson II), vv. 1789 ff.; *Reinbroun* (op. cit.) Stanza 79ff.; *Huon of Burdeaux* (op. cit.), ca. XXV, p. 75, ca. CXVI, p. 410, ca. CXVII, p. 424 etc.; *Sir Ferumbras*, vv. 1324ff.; *Sir Degrevant*, vv. 1425ff., 1473.

tures, and the non-supernatural mansions of the romances, which the castles of our legends resemble. That of *The Turk and Gowin* is rather specifically described:

> "To the castle they then yode:
> . . . .
> there they found chamber, bower & hall,
> richly rayled about with pale,
> Seemly to look upon;
> A Bord was spred within that place,
> all manner of meates & drinkes there was."
>
> (vv. 77ff.)

The fireplace which the Turke lifts has nothing at all supernatural about it. The O. W. castle in *Partonopeus of Blois*[1] has a tower of marble and gates of iron, a draw-bridge, a hall hung with golden cloths and tables spread ready for a meal. The castle hall of Golagrus[2] is hung with pall and well painted and has a chimney with charcoal burning in it. The home of the lady with the sparrowhawk, in *Melusine* [3] has splendid tapestries and a table covered with all kinds of dainties. At Arthur's castle, in *Gawain and the Green Knight*,[4] it is chiefly the banqueting which is described. There is a fuller description of the Green Knight's castle. In *Sir Degare*[5] there is a realistic description. In *Rauf Coilʒear*[6] the king's hall is realistically and rather fully described. Bits of description are given in a number of other romances.[7] In *Generedes*[8] a bed chamber is fully described and in *The Squire of Low Degree*, a lady's oriel appears.[9] Descriptions of the building of castles sometimes introduce realistic details.[10]

A bit of romance material in the landscape of *Tundale* is the fountain of youth:

> "Who so drynkes her of þis welle,
> Honger shall he never fele
> Ne threste shall he never mare,
> But lykyng have withouten care;
> If he were olde, withoute payne
> Hit wolde make hym ʒonge agayne."
>
> (v. 1553ff., Wagner's ed.)

In *The Voyage of S. Brendan* there is also a well which relieves hunger and thirst, and which, in the Latin version at least, produces sleep.

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[1] *EETS. ES.* 109, w. 968ff. Cf. French version, ed. G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1834 vv. 885ff. and 921ff.
[2] *Golagrus and Gawain, Anglia* II, pp. 395ff., vv. 63ff.
[3] *EETS. ES.* 68, ch. lx, pp. 364–5.
[4] *EETS. OS.* 4.
[5] *Percy Folio MS.* III, vv. 605ff.
[6] *EETS.* ES. 39.
[7] *Guy of Warwick*, EETS. ES. 42, 49, 59, w. 6821; *Reinbroun*, op. cit, stanzas 68–71; *The Avowing of Arthur, Camden Soc.* 18, stanzas xlvi-xlix; *The Green Knight, Percy Folio MS.* II, vv. 291 ff.; *Eger and Grime, Percy Folio MS.* I, scattered bits of description; *Sir Gowther, Utterson* I, scattered bits; *Sir Degrevant*, op. cit.; same; *Sir Perceval of Galles, Camden Soc.* 30, vv. 434ff.
[8] *EETS.* OS. 55, vv. 69ff.
[9] Op. cit., vv. 94ff.
[10] *Arthur and Merlin*, op. cit., vv. 514ff.; *Melusine*, op. cit., ch. XIX, pp. 62–3; *The Four Sons of Amon, EETS.* ES. 44–45, ch. VI, p. 149.

A fountain of youth appear twice in the romance of *Huon of Burdeaux*. In the garden of the Admiral of Babylon[1] there is a fountain flowing "out of ye ryver Nile that comyth from paradise," which restores health to the sick and youth to the aged. Again, on the rock of Alexander, Huon, after his combat with the griffin, drinks from a fair fountain and is healed of all his wounds. This is said to be the fountain of youth. Beside it grow the apples of youth.[2] Other romances in which the fountain appears are *Esclarmonde*,[3] *Fergus*,[4] *Der Jungere Titurel*,[5] Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Prazifal*,[6] *Wigamur*,[7] *Li Romans d'Alexandre*,[8] *Abor und das Meerweib* (a Middle High German poem).[9]

Such a spring is described also in the fabulous accounts of travelers. It is found in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, where the description ends, "And men say that well cometh out of Paradise and therefore it is so virtuous."[10]

The fiction of a fountain of youth appears widely in folktales.[11] An early use of it in religious fiction occurs in Babylonian mythology.[12]

The idea of a fountain of youth seems to be related to the belief that there is no death nor decay in this happy land. In *The Voyage of Bran*, there is no sickness in the island where the voyagers find a convent of monks. The motive is characteristic of fairyland in general.[13] In the romance of *Reinbroun*, the hero is told that in the O. W. palace he is visiting, no one ever grows old.

A minor feature in *S. Brendan* which is paralleled in several secular

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[1] *EETS.* ed. p. 116, ca. xxxvii.
[2] *EETS.* ed. p. 434, ca. cxxi.
[3] Ed. Schweigel, Marburg, 1891 (v. 1323).
[4] Ed. Martin, 1872 (100, 8).
[5] Ed. K. A. Hahn. Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1842 (v. 6053ff.).
[6] Ed. Martin, Halle, 1900 (513, 9). This is a figurative use in a personal description: "Er was ein quecprunne der tugend" (a life-giving fountain of virtue). See, however, the article by Archer Taylor, *OHG. Quecbrunno*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Jan., 1918, p. 48ff, where the equation of OHG. quecbrunno and MHG. jungbrunnen is denied.
[7] Ed. Friedrich Keinz, *Münchener Bruchstücke*, Wein, 1882 (v. 161ff.).
[8] Ed. Michelaut, 1846, *Stuttg. Litt. Verein*, Bd. 13 (332, 35: reduces age); (333,4: drinker cannot die); (333, 15: restores dead to life).
[9] Pr. Jacob Grimm in *Ztsch. f. deut. Alt.* V, 6ff. Romances which contain O. W. fountains (not apparently endowed with life or health giving qualities) are *Guingamor* (Rom. VIII, vv. 421ff.); *Graelent* (Roquefort, *Poesies de Marie de France*, I, 486–541); *Lanval* (Warnke, *Lais der Marie*, 2nd. ed. vv. 44ff.); *Desiré* (Midul, *Lais Inédits*, p. II); Gauchier's continuation of *Percival* (ed. Potvin, vv. 23292ff.).
[10] Ed. A. W. Pollard in *Lib. of Eng. Classics*, p. 113f., chap. 18.
[11] J. A. Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, p. 65ff., has found it in Indian, Turkish and Persian poetry, Hohammedan fable, and Japanese, Polynesian, and African tales. Maculloch gives references to W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, p. 521; Lucy Garnett, *Greek Folk Poesy*, II, 442; E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, p. 351; Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, I, 41; W. E. Griffis, *The Japanese Fairy World*, 214, 218; Gaster, *Greeko-Slav. Lit.* p. 99. Cf. E. W. Hopkins's article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXVI (1905) i, 1–67; ii, 411–15. Cf. also Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, I, 306. On holy wells, see Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.*, 496, and on magic wells that cure wounds, restore the dead, heal blindness, give strength or beauty, etc., see Maculloch, op. cit. Fairy wells were, of course, in popular superstition, often made over into holy wells.
[12] Cf. the Biblical fountain of life, Psalm 36.
[13] Especially of the Celtic Other World. Cf. *The Voyage of Bran* I, 22:

"We are from the beginning of creation
Without old age, without consummation of earth."

and p. 6:

"Without grief, without sorrow, without death,
Without any sickness, without debility."

Cf. *The Voyage of Maelduin*, where it is promised: "Age shall not fall upon you." (*Revue Celtique*, X, 64, stanza 10. Cf. Alfred Nutt's essay "*The happy other world*," etc., *The Voyage of Bran*, I.

compositions, is the loadstone rock which exerts a compelling force upon the ships passing near it. Such a rock is to be found in *Huon*,[1] in *Ogier the Dane*,[2] in the Bavarian *Herzog von Baiern*.[3] A loadstone rock is found also in the story of Sindbad the Sailor, and in Mandeville's *Travels*.[4]

The allusions to food in the *Disputisoun* are significant. Food is very commonly offered to the visionary of early literature, and is always accepted and enjoyed. Fairy food, on the contrary, is often[5] injurious to mortals, who are frequently urged not to partake of it.

In Chretien's *Erec*,[6] at the castle of king Evrain, Erec entered an enchanted garden of trees covered with fruit. Adventurers who had eaten this fruit were unable to find their way out.

Thomas of Erceldoun, after his long journey through the passage of approach to the fairy world, coming into an orchard of fruit, wishes to pluck some, but is forbidden by the fée:

> "Scho sayd, Thomas, late þou þame stande,
> Or elles þe fende þe will atteynt."
>
> (Stanza 34.)
>
> "If þou it plokk, sothely to saye,
> Thi saule gose to þe fyre of helle;"
>
> (Stanza 35.)

Ogier the Dane, after he has been shipwrecked on the loadstone rock near Avalon, makes the mistake of eating a fairy apple, which brings about his stay with Morgan le Fay.[7]

In *The Turke and Gowin*, the Turkė will not allow Gawain to eat any of the food placed before him in the magic castle; he supplies food which may be safely eaten. (vv. 83–101.)[8]

The food offered to the Christian man in the *Disputisoun* appears to be of this dangerous variety, for he refuses it:

> "Riche metes was forþ broyht
> To alle men, þat good þouht
> Þe cristen mon wolde nouht
> Drynke nor ete." (v. 212ff.)

[1] Op. cit. p. 354ff.
[2] Cf. the analysis in Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*. p. 47.
[3] Ed. Karl Bartsch, Vienna, 1869. Cf. Simrock, *Die Deutschen Volksbücher*, III, 305ff. *Herzog Ernst*, in its earliest form, is of the twelfth century.
[4] Chap. 30, ed. Pollard.
[5] Not always. See allusions to nourishing fairy food, Brown, op. cit. *Mod. Phil.* XIV, 385ff.
[6] Ed. Foerster.
[7] Cf. the Irish romance of *Connla the Fair* (*Revue Celtique* V, 389ff., 478f.). Connla is lured away to the fairy world by a fée who throws him an apple. After he has tasted of this fruit, he wants no mortal food, and cannot rest until he has followed his charmer away.
[8] For similar prohibitions in ballads and folk literature generally, see Child's *Ballads*, I, 322f., 327; II, 505, 509; IV, 455, 458. On the prohibition against eating both in fairyland and in the realm of the dead, see Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 39ff., and Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, p. 178. In this respect, as in others, Hades and fairyland seem to be confused. An early use of this convention in a description of Hades, is the story of Persephone's eating seven grains of a pomegranite and hence being obliged to remain in Pluto's realm.

The chief reason for the introduction of the fairy world into the romances seems to be the presence of the fée who loves the adventurer. This fairy mistress is perhaps, represented by the lady in the nunnery of the *Disputisoun:*

"Til a nonnerie þei came—
But I knows not þe name:
þe was mony a derworþe dame
In dyapre dere.
Squi ȝers in uch a syde,
In þe wones so wyde.
'Heer schul we lenge and abyde,
Auntres to heere.'
Þenne swipe speke he
Til a ladi so fre
And bidde: þat he welcome be,
'Sire Water, my feere.' " (v. 196ff.)

This nunnery bears a strong resemblance to the castle hall of romance, where squires are customarily ranged "in uch a syde," and where guests linger "auntres to heere."

The legend entitled *Of a monk desired to see þe leste blis of paradys*,[1] is one which employs a well known feature of the mortal's visit to fairyland, the unnoted passage of time.

"An holi monk hedde gret longyng
To seo in his lyf sum toknyng,
And forte seo þe leste blis
Þat in þe Joye of hevene is,
And whon þis Monk com to feir elde,
To worchen ouht he was unbelde:
Of Covent labur was he mad fre,
And nout but þat he wolde dude he." (v. 1ff.)

[1] The story seems to have arisen in connection with the Abbey of Afflighem inBrabant, toward the end of the eleventh century, in the time of the abbe Fulgentius. The earliest Latin version is one reprinted by Liebrecht in his translation of Dunlop's History of Prose Fiction (*Geschichte der Prosa-Dichtungen*, Berlin 1851, p. 543). The story was told very briefly by Odo of Cheriton, from whom it is borrowed in the *Speculum Laicorum* of John of Hoveden. It is reprinted from the 1520 edition of Odo's Sermons in *Les Contes Moralisés* de Nicole Bozon (*Soc. des. Anc. Textes Fr.*, 1889, p. 267–8). Bozon, who was probably a friar minor of the north of England, writing early in the fourteenth century, himself also relates the story. It is told very artistically by Maurice de Sulli, bishop of Paris, in one of his French sermons (pr. *Romania* V., 473f.). Longfellow, in *The Golden Legend*, has made the tale familiar to modern readers, and Southey told it as a legend attached to the Spanish convent of San Salvador. Hartland ,*Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 187f., states that the legend is localized at the ruined Welsh monastery at Clymog-Fawr, on the coast of Carnarvonshire, and says it is told of other monasteries (cf. Marcus Landau, *Zeitmärchen und Märchenzeit*, in *Beilage z. Münchener Allgem. Zeitung*, June, 1900, no. 128. Cf. Reinhold Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 224). In some versions the monk is called Felix, in some, Urban (cf. Heinrich Günter, *Die Christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 106). A most minute study of the German versions and their sources has been made by Erich Mai, *Das Mittel-hoch-deutsche Gedicht vom Mönch Felix*, Berlin, 1912. The story is told of the Irish saint, Mochoe of Nendrum. Here the bird who lures away the monk is said to be an angel. It sings three strains, each of which represents a lapse of fifty years (*The Martyology of Donegal*, ed. O'Donovan, Todd and Reeves, *Irish Arch. and Celtic Soc.*, 1864). The Middle English version of the story is from the Vernon MS., fol. 126, and is printed by Horstmann in *Herrig's Archiv.*, vol. 57, p. 277f.

Some versions[1] begin with an account of the monk's desire that God would make clear to him the meaning of the fourth verse of the ninetieth Psalm.[2]

One day all the rest of the convent went out to their work after the service at prime. This monk sitting in the cloister, saw beside him a bird so beautiful that he wished to capture it. He followed the bird in its flight until he passed through the great gate and out into a forest. The bird perched on a bough and sang so sweetly that the monk sat down to listen to it. The song was so merry that he could not rise until it came to an end:

> "Þat þenne to ryse mihte he nouht,
> Til þat song weore i brouht to ende."

By the time the bird had flown away, the listener thought "undurne" must be ringing in the abbey. So he rose and started homeward, thinking to get there ahead of the rest of the convent. When he came to the place where the gate had been, he found only a moss-grown wall. Wondering, he went on until he found a gate in a new place. There was a new porter there who asked the monk of what house he was. The latter replied that he was a monk of this abbey, and that he had gone out to play. He asked the name of the abbey and found that he knew the house and the work, but not the monks. He did not know the way to church. So

> "Þe porter him to chirche lad,
> ffor wood semed he and mad." (v. 61f.)

The prior summoned him and heard his story. He had been many years in that abbey, as novice and then as monk, but he saw no companion that he had ever known. The prior asked him who was abbot at the time he left the abbey. It then appeared that his abbot had been dead three hundred years. This information was found in the chronicles, together with the story of an old monk who went out to play and was never heard of again.

> "And þer bi wust þei þat hit was he,
> And þonkede god—and so do we." (v. 85f.)

This legend belongs to a widespread family of tales of adventurers who are led away in some manner to a spot where they pass many years unconscious of the lapse of time. The ramifications of the theme in world literature are suggested by Erich Mai. I class the legend as a visit to the Other World by virtue of the supernatural lapse of time which is the chief element of interest in it, and I confine my citations of parallels to the romances which exhibit this characteristic of the fairy world.

[1] The study of Mai, op. cit., p. 175.

[2] "For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past." Günter, op. cit., p. 106, gives a story of a man who worried over the meaning of Psalm 126:1, wondering if it were possible that a man might be seventy years in a dream, until one day he fell asleep and slept for that length of time.

Ogier the Dane[1] is a hero of romance who was carried off by Morgan le Fay to the Other World (Avalon), where he spent two hundred years in the enjoyment of pleasures ever new.

Thomas of Erceldoun[2] went into fairland, where he remained as he thought for three days, but in reality for seven years.

In *Lay of Guingamor*,[3] the hero, after having remained at the Other World palace for two days, as he thinks, wishes to return home. The fee tells him he has been there for three hundred years.

In *Meraugis de Portlesgues*,[4] Meraugis has been at the magic "chateau des caroles" for about ten weeks, during the winter, but he has not noticed that time has been fleeting, and when he leaves the castle he is amazed to see the green grass of spring and to hear the nightingale.

Guinglain,[5] at the castle of "la dame d'amour," remains twelve months and more, forgetting the quest on which he is engaged. His hostess is said to have caused him to forget his mission because of her acquaintance with sorcery.

In *Li Bastars de Buillon*,[6] five years pass unnoticed in fairyland.

In *Perceforest*,[7] vol. I, chap. 42, the fortnight that Alexander the Great and Floridas spend with Sebille la Dame de Lac, seems to them but one night.

The motive is very common in Celtic tales. In the *Mabinogi of Branwen, Daughter of Llyr*,[8] Pryderi and his companions unknowingly pass seven years at Harlech, feasting and listening to the singing of the three birds of Rhiannon, and at Gwales in Penvro, they spend four score happy years, forgetful of their sorrows and unconscious of the passage of time. Time passes miraculously also in *The Voyage of Bran*,[9] the *Echtra Thaidg mheic Chéin*,[10] the *Echtra Nerai*,[11] *The Lay of Ossian*,[12] and *The Voyage of Maelduin*.[13] Hartland[14] gives references to a large number of folk tales from modern collections, Celtic, Germanic, Slavonic, Oriental, which employ this feature. Three hundred is a favorite number for the years which pass unnoted.[15]

Akin to the miraculous passage of time are the convention of eternal youth in the Other World, and that of the eventual return of

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[1] Ed. Barrois, Paris, 1842.
[2] Op. cit.
[3] Printed in *Romania*, VIII.
[4] Ed. M. Friedwagner, Halle, 1897.
[5] *Le Bel Inconnu* of Renaud de Beaujeu, ed. Hippeau, Paris, 1860, and *Libeaus Desconus*, ed. Ritson, A. E. M. R. II, and Kaluza, *A. E. Bibl. V.*
[6] Ed. Scheler, Brussels, 1877.
[7] *La tres elegante, deliceuse, melliflue et tres plaisante hysfoire du. . . . Roy Perceorest*, ets., published at Paris, 1528.
[8] *Les Mabinogion*, ed. J. Loth, Paris, 1913.
[9] Op. cit. In the story of Bran, as in most of the Celtic tales, the adventurer dies upon his return to this world. (Cf. V. of B., 167f.) This dénouement does not occur in the M-E. version of *Monk-Felix*, but is used in the Latin version printed by Liebrecht, and in Bozon's story.
[10] *Silva Gadelica.*
[11] *Revue Celtique*, X, 221ff.
[12] *Ossianic Soc.* IV, 235ff.
[13] *Rev. Celt.* IX, 447ff. In this tale and in that of Nera, the magic change of time is reversed and a short time appears long. (Cf. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 244ff.)
[14] P. 162ff. op. cit.
[15] This is the number in the Latin version and in Bozon. In Odo of Cheriton and John of Hoveden, and in the anonymous collections of tales listed by Ward (op. cit.), the number is 120 or 200.

a hero who has passed into the Other World.[1] It is notable, in this connection, that seers of visions are usually surprised to find that several days have elapsed during their trances (cf. *The Monk of Eynesham*, above, p. 36).

It is clear from the slightest examination of the Felix legend, that it is a folk tale retold by some monkish writer, who substituted a brother for the folk hero (bridegroom[2] or whatever he might be), and replaced fairyland by the Christian paradise for one glimpse of which our monk longed.

The supernatural lapse of time is a feature of romance and fairy lore which seems to be referred to also in the *Disputisoun*. In the description of the land visited we find the lines:

> "Hose lenge wolde long,
> Ful luitel him þouht." (vv. 163f.)

In the *Voyage of S. Brendan*, Barintus and his companions, although they seem to be spending only a little while in paradise, remain there a year.

The Return

In many of the early legends, no particular mention is made of the return. The visionary's progress through paradise, which he usually visits last, merely stops short and he finds his spirit back in the body. Sometimes he feels reluctant to leave the Other World, but is directed by a voice to return to earth. The manner of his return is not described.

S. Salvius, for example, had a glimpse of a glorious place where he was refreshed by a delightful odor as by food, but before he had an opportunity to see more of this realm, he was sent back by a voice which told him he was needed there.

The pilgrim of S. Macarius approach paradise, but when they meet S. Macarius and learn that this holy man has been waiting in prayer for one hundred years to enter the heavenly gate, they decide to abandon their project and return to their convent.

Peter, in the vision related by Gregory the Great, is given good counsel by an angel in shining garments, and sent home.

Drihthelm has only a glimpse of heaven, from which he perceives an exceedingly bright light coming, and a wonderful fragrance, and sweet voices of singers. Then, comforted by a promise of final bliss, he reluctantly returns to the body.

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[1] It was believed that King Arthur, "rex quondam, rexque futurus," as Malory calls him, would one day return. Hartland, op. cit. p. 205ff. and Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, I, 458ff., cite a number of Celtic stories of this type concerning Arthur and other Celtic heroes, and Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.* p. 794ff., has reference to similar Teutonic stories. Cf. also J. G. T. Grässe, *Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Litergeschichte*, II, iii, 340f. If we may believe Washington Irving (*The Alhambra*), the story of a king surrounded by his warriors, lying asleep in a cave to be awakened at an appointed time, is attached, in Spanish tradition, to Boabdil, the last king of Granada. The magic sleep in a cave or some such place of seclusion, may be considered as belonging to the Felix type of stories, on the score that the sleepers think they have slept only a short time. There is of course a whole literature on this subject. Cf. Mich. Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern*, Leipzig, 1910; H. Günter, op. cit. p. 105f.; John Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*, Leipzig, 1883.

[2] Cf. Jas. Schwarzer, in *Ztschr. f. dtsch. Phil.* XIII, 338ff.

Early non-Christian visions usually treat this feature in the same way. In the Chaldaean accounts of Gilgames and in the visits of the soul to the Indian paradise, the matter of the return seems to be considered unimportant. In Plato's tale of *Erus*,[1] the visionary was directed to return to his former life, as a messenger to men. Of the manner in which he returned to his body, he knew nothing, but he saw himself already laid on the funeral pile, and his spirit awoke.[2]

I have illustrated at length the traditional ending of the vision, in order to contrast with it an ending which strikingly resembles that of some romances, the end of the *Disputisoun*. In that legend, the Jew and the Christian, after they have been welcomed with mirth and ministrelsy and have refused the rich meats and wines set before them, suddenly become aware of a cross with a body upon it, and the Virgin Mary, with John and other apostles, standing by. The wounds of the figure on the ctoss begin to bleed. The Jew claims to have fulfilled his promise. The Christian now produces the Host which he has brought with him, and when the figure on the cross sees this, he bursts the bright building, and all becomes as dark as night. The Jew and the Christian find themselves standing upon the hill into which they had entered. The Jew confesses that the beings they have seen were fiends, and promises to become a Christian. The Christian man of this story, Sir Walter of Berewyk, christened his Jewish friend, who was now eager to renounce his error.

Dr. Carleton Brown, in the article mentioned above, prints a Latin version of this story from the *Bonum universale de Apibus* of Thomas Cantimpré (Lib. II, cap. lvii, par. 23), a work written in the suburbs of Louvain between 1256 and 1263.[3] Cantimpré's story translated is as follows:

Concerning a false appearance of demons, revelation of Christ, and counterfeit of the saints, through which it imposed upon heretics, but through the presentation of the body of Christ, it vanished at once.

In what manner also, these demons, the dusii, are said to dwell in mountains and to lead astray and drive mad deluded people, I shall show openly. In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1231, when master Conrad was preaching against the heretics in Theutonia, a certain man led astray by demons (as I heard from Conrad, Provincial brother of the Preachers throughout Theutonia) challenged a brother of the order of Preachers to Heresy. When he saw him earnestly resisting, he said to the brother: "You are exceedingly persistent in your faith; yet you have not examined anything concerning this, unless in some writings, with complete certainty. If you wish, however, to believe my statements, I will show you Christ and His mother and the saints visible to the eye." He at once suspected that this was an illusion of the demons, but he wished

[1] In the tenth book of *Republic*, Jowett's trans. Char. Press ed. II, 613ff.
[2] For the identification of Erus with Zoroaster, cf. Jowett, introd. to bk. X; with Viraf, cf. Kohler, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, June, 1895.
[3] Dr. Brown reprints the text from Colvener's edition, Douay, 1627, p. 553. He refers to Elie Berger, *Thom. Cant. Bonum univ. de Apibus quid illustrandis sacc. XIII moribus conferat*, Paris, 1895, pp. 15–16.

nevertheless to test what it might be. "Not without cause," he said, "should I believe you then, if you brought the things you promise." Delighted, the heretic arranged a day with the brother. The brother indeed secretly carried with him under his cope the Pix, with the sacraments of the body of Christ. The heretic led the brother into a cave in a certain mountain, into an exceedingly great palace, which shone with a wonderful brightness. Without delay, when they came into the lower part of the palace, they saw thrones placed which seemed to be of the purest gold, on which sat a king surrounded by a glittering brightness and beside him a queen with a most beautiful serene countenance; and on either side there were seats where were old men like patriarchs, or even apostles, and, standing by, a great multitude of angles. These all shone with a starry radiance, so that they might be thought nothing less than demons. As soon as the heretic saw all this, he fell upon his face adoring it. The brother stood motionless, although he was tremendously astonished by such a spectacle. The heretic presently turning to him, asked: "Why, when you look upon the Son of God, do you not adore him? Fall prone and worship him whom you see, a .d receive from his mouth the mysteries of our faith." Then the brother, approaching nearer, drew out the Pix and offering it to the queen seated on the throne, said: "Queen, if thou art the mother of Christ, behold thy son; if thou receive him, I will recognize thee as indeed the mother of God." At this speech, instantly the whole phantasm vanished, and, the brightness extinguished, such darkness thickened that the brother and his conductor were scarcely able to return to the passage out of the mountain. The heretic was in consequence of this converted, and returned to the faith, much astonished and sorely frightened at the wonderful cunning of the demon.

Dr. Brown also prints a story from the life of Saint Wulfram, Archbiship of Sens and apostle to Friesia, which may have been the source of Cantimpré's tale. It dates from about the middle of the eigthth century.[1] The story, which Dr. Brown reprints in condensed form from the *Acta Sanctorum*, is as follows:

When King Radbod of Friesia lay sick and about to die, Satan appeared to him in the form of an angel of light, and reproached him for having been led astray by Wulfram. He begged the king not to abandon his native gods:

"Do not desire, I beseech you, to go on, to proceed; but remain faithful to the end to the cults of those gods to whom you have held so far. You shall go to the eternal golden mansions which I am about to give you in the near future, that I may add credence to the assurances of my words. Wherefore summon Wulfram, the Christian doctor, tomorrow, and inquire of him where that mansion of eternal light is, which he has promised that you shall inhabit in the heavens, if you receive the Christian dogma. When he is unable to show this, let ambassadors be sent from both sides and I will be the guide and

[1] Dr. Brown states that the resemblance between this story and Cantimpré's account was first noticed by C. G. N. de Vooys, *Middelnederlandsche Legenden en Exempeln*, 's-Gravenhage, 1900, p. 173.

will show them a mansion of extraordinary beauty and great splendor, which I expect to give you after a little time."

The king on waking told the vision to Saint Wulfram, who recognized it as the work of the devil, and pressed the king to receive baptism without delay. The incredulous prince replied that he would do all the brother bade him if this promised mansion were shown by his god. When the priest of Christ perceived his soul to be altogether unconquerable, he at once sent his deacon with the appointed Friesian priest. When they had proceeded a little way from the town, they met with a certain companion of the journey, in human form, who said to them: "Make great haste, for I am to show you the mansion of extraordinary beauty which has been prepared for Prince Radbod by his god." Following their leader, they traverse a region unknown to them, until they enter upon a broad road decorated with polished marble of various kinds. They see at a distance a house of gold, with a courtyard, paved with gold and gems, lying before it. Finally they enter the house, which is splendid with gold and of incredible beauty, and there they see a throne of wonderful size. Then the leader of the journey says: "This is the house and this is the beautiful seat which the god of Prince Radbod has promised to bestow upon him after his death."

The deacon, stupified by the things which he had seen, said: "If these things have been done by omnipotent God, let them remain forever, but if by the devil, let them disappear at once." And without delay he protected himself with the defense of the holy cross. The leader turned into a devil and vanished, and the golden house was changed into mud. The deacon and the Friesian, after two days, found themselves in the midst of marshy places which were filled with very tall thickets. After a three days' journey of great difficulty, they arrived at the town, where they told the blessed priest what an illusion they had suffered from the devil. They found Prince Radbod dead without the sacrament of baptism. The Friesian, however, believed in Christ and was baptised.

Of these two stories, Cantimpré's and that in the *Life of S. Wulfram*, the former bears a much closer resemblance to the *Disputisoun*. The country visited is situated underground, the Christian is shown Christ, the Virgin and the apostles, and the Host is used as a means of dispelling the illusion. The account in the *Vita* gives the skeleton of the story. Cantimpré's story contains additional details evidently drawn from folklore, and the author of the Disputisoun weaves in further material borrowed from romance. In the last version the opponents become Christian and Jew, instead of heretic and friar, and the story is given the setting of the debate, although no theological discussion takes place.[1]

[1] Debates between Christians and heretics were not common. P. Paris, *Les Manuscripts francais dela bibliotheque du roi* (Tome I, nos. 6745 and 6745[3]), described a *Debat du Chretien et du Sarrasin* by Jehan Germain, bishop of Chalons-sur-Saone. This is purely a theological argument. The accounts of the sudden conversion of Saracens, in the romances, often contain the germ of a doctrinal discussion (cf. *Otuel*, vv. 239–254, 313–328 and 513–526, RRTS. ES. 39; the *Sege off Melayne EETS.* ES. 35, vv. 409–480; *Sir Ferumbras, EETS.* ES. 34, vv. 753–765; *Richard Coeur de Lion*, Weber, *Metr. Rom.* II, part i, ch. 9, part ii, ch. 1 and 3; *Huon of Burdeaux, EETS.* ES. 40–41–43–50, pp. 151, 417, 463, 622. Occasionally there is a somewhat full dis-

Ward's *Catalogue of Romances* describes two manuscripts of stories resembling the *Disputisoun*. One,[1] a thirteenth century manuscript, tells how a Cistercian abbot in Burgundy was invited by a man suspected of heresy to visit him, with the promise that he should see the Virgin. The abbot came on the appointed day, secretly carrying the Host with him. He was led into subterranean chamber, and was there shown a stone statue of the Virgin, in which was a devil. When he produced the Host, the roof immediately fell in, crushing all but the abbot himself and his attendant monk.

The other manuscript described by Ward, dating a century later, is more like our legend.[2] A Jewish prince invites a master in theology with whom he has been disputing to visit him, undertaking to show him the Virgin. The theologian secretly brings with him the Host, and produces it in the presence of the supposed Virgin, who is really the devil in the form of a beautiful woman. The devil instantly flies away, carrying the roof with him. The Jew and his household are baptized.

It is probable that Cantimpré's story was widely known. Whether or not it passed directly into the Vernon MS. of the *South English Legendary*, it is impossible to tell. As for Cantimpré's sources, the date of the *Bonum universale de Apibus*, 1256 to 1263, does not exclude the possibility of influence by continental romances. The essentially secular features in the story, the entrance into a mountain through a cave, the splendid palace, the sudden vanishing of the illusion, may all be folklore material. They are in any case elements which became romance material, and they are carried over into the *Disputisoun* and combined there with several details which show direct borrowing from romance.

There are almost none of the traditional features of the vision in this legend. The place described is inhabited by the fiends who create the illusion, but it in no way resembles the hell of the visions. It happens to have some of the attractions of the heaven of the visions, but this is because the latter resembles that fairy Other World which undoubtedly furnishes the scene for the *Disputisoun*.

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cussion, as in *Joseph of Arimathie*, *EETS.* OS. 44, where an argument concerning the Trinity occurs, or in *Rouland and Vernagu*, ed. fr. Abbotsford Club, 1836, vv. 671–790, where, during a pause in the combat, Roland argues with the giant on the incarnation, the Trinity, the death of Christ, and the resurrection. Usually, however, the discussion is terminated very early by a proclamation like that in *The Kyng of Tars:*

"Who þat wold nouȝt cristoned be,
He schuld be honged opon a tre,
Wiþ outen ani delay."

The debate between a Christian and Jew, was probably more common in mediaeval literature. Dr. Brown refers to one in early Christian literature (*Altercatio Simoins Judaei et Theophili Christiani*, written by Evagrims at the beginning of the fifth century, edited by A. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuch. zur. Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.*, Bd. I. Heft 3, pp. 1–136) and to one written in England in the twelfth century (*Disputatio Iudaei cum Christiano*, by Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 159, col. 1007ff.). Another dispute between Christian and Jew is to be found in Mirk's *Festial* (EETS. ES. 96) no. 24, *De Anunciacione Dominica*. It is a story of discussion, and a miracle which has no relation to our *Disputisoun*. *A Dispitison bitwene a god man and pe devel*, from the Vernon MS., printed by Horstmann, *Eng. Stud.*, VIII, 159ff., contains a doctrinal discussion terminated by the vanishing of the devil when the good man blesses himself with the cross.

[1] MS. Egerton, 1117, no. 21, Latin, end of 13 century, *Cat. Rom.*, II, 668.
[2] MS. Royal 8.B. IV. no. 4, Latin, Cat. Rom; III, 533, according to Ward, a manuscript of religious tales "from the Vitae Patrum and other sources."

This legend offers a striking embodiment of the popular confusion between devils and fairies.[1] There are many indications of this confusion in the romances. In *Partonopeus of Blois*, when the hero's mother learns of his Other World visit, she is sure that her son is under the spell of a devil. She consults the bishop of Paris in the matter. Partonopeus defends Melior by asserting that she always speaks well of God and of His law. In the *Lai of Desiré* the Fairy Mistress offers to prove that she is not a spirit of darkness by going to church to make the sign of the cross and to partake of the holy bread.[2] In *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, the hero fought so valiantly that he seemed to be not a mortal man, but "a fende or a spiryte of the fayrye." (Chap. 29, p. 106.) Chaucer, in *The Merchant's Tale*, gives Pluto the title of "King of Faerie," and Dunbar, in the Golden Targe, calls him "Pluto, the elrich incubus." All through *Huon of Burdeuax*, there is a good deal of confusion between fairies and devils. The romance most thoroughly permeated with this idea of the fairies is *Thomas of Erceldoun*, where the fee forbids Thomas to eat (see below, p. 75) on the following penalty:

> "If þou it plokk, sothely to saye,
> Thi saule gose to þe fyre of helle;
> It commes never oute or domesdaye,
> Bot þer in payne ay for to duelle." (v. 189ff.)

She also points out to him a road leading over a high mountain, the way to heaven; a way "bynethe ȝone rysse," to paradise; a third under a green plain to the place where sinful souls suffer their pain; a fourth, over a deep dell, to hell. Thomas finally has to leave fairyland to escape the devil, who is coming there to demand his "fee." The same tribute is collected in fairyland as described in the ballad of *Tam Lin*:[3]

> "And pleasant is the fairy land,
> But, an eerie tale to tell,
> Ay at the end of seven years
> We pay tiend to hell;"[4] (Stanza 24.)

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[1] A statement of the belief that fairies were evil spirits is made by the writer of the legend of S. Michael (EETS. OS. 87):

> "And ofte in fourne of wommane: In many derne weye,
> Grete compaygnie men i-seoth of heom: boþe hoppie and pleiȝe,
> Þat Eluene beoth i-cleopede: and ofte heo comiez to toune,
> And bi daye muche in wodes heo beoth: and bi niȝte ope heiȝe dounes.
> Þat beoth þe wrechche gostes: Þat out of hevene weren i- nome,
> And manie of heom a-domesday: ȝeot schullen to reste come."

Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, on the participation of elves in salvation.

[2] The confusion of fairy women with she-devils is also illustrated in the romance of *Richard Coeur de Lion*.

[3] Child's *Ballads*, no. 39.

[4] Cf. also the Venusberg story, in the German "*Heldenbuch*," ed. Simrock, Stuttgart, 1863. "Das wilde Heer" leads Frittel away toward the Venusberg. Eckart's warning to him is that if he follows into the mountain he will burn in flame, for it is the abode of death for body and soul.

The lady of *Sir Orfeo* offers a unique example of the localization of a legend of Hades in fairyland.

Dr. Brown (op. cit. p. 142) considers the mention of "Dusii"[1] in Cantimpre's story as the producers of the illusion distinctly significant, as confirming "the impression created by the narrative itself, that we are dealing with material borrowed directly from folklore."

The illusions created by fiends seem to vanish as unexpectedly as the creations of fairies. The vanishing of the scene witnessed by the Christian of our legend is comparable to the sudden disappearance of the usual fairy castle. The Christian, confronted by the figure which appears to be Christ on the cross, surrounded by the apostles and the Virgin, holds up the Host, which he has brought with him:

> Whom he was schewed to þe siht,
> He barst þe buyldynge so briht.
> Boþe was derk as þe niht
> Heore sonne and heore mone.
> Al þe gere þat was gay
> Was] enne I wasted away.
> Þe cristene mon gon say:
> 'Beon þeos þi godes here?'
> Þe- jeuh onswerde him wiþ nay
> And ofte merci gon him pray:
> I wol leue my lay
> And on þi lore lere.
> Sore I doute me of dred.
> I haue ilost my wed:
> Þo þat are forþ fled
> Was fendes in feere,
> Non good, but al ille.'
> No more he tented hem tille.
> Heo þo stoden ope hulle
> þer þey furst were." (v. 252ff.)

The dissolution of enchantment created by fiends through the use of a holy symbol is common in stories of experiences with fiends, whether these stories are romances or religious tales.[2] In Cantim-

[1] The Dusii are woodland spirits mentioned by S. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, XV, 23) and by Isador of Seville (*Origines* VIII, II). Cf. Du Cange. Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 398, n. 138. The passage from S. Augustine was frequently cited during the Middle Ages.

[2] A number of cases in which the Host is used as a protection against fiends, occur in the religious stories in MS. described by Ward, *Cat. Rom.* III, 12ff., 41,467ff. Cf. also Du Cange s. v. chrismale. Cf. Plummer, *Lives of Irish Saints*, I, cxxvi. For the use of the cross to dispel the enchantment of friends, see Ward, III, 370ff., 479, 485; *Huon of Burdeux*, chap. 35; *A Disputison between a good man and the devil, Eng. Stud.* VIII, 259ff.; Robert of Brunne, *Handlung Synne*. EETS. OS. 123, p. 260. In the romance of *Chevelere Assigne* (EETS. OS. VI. v. 831ff.), when the wicked forester, Malkedras, mocks the cross, a two-headed serpent springs upon him from it. In the legend of *Theophilus* (M-E. version, *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 57, p. 290ff.), Theophilus, unwittingly making a bargain with the devil, is warned by his guide, a Jew, not to make a sign of the cross. There is a similar use of relics (*Life of S. Ciaran*, Plummer, op. cit. cf. King Arthur and the King of Cornwall); of the names of God, Christ and the apostles (the romance of *Richard Coeur de Lion*, pt. II, chap. 4, v. 5547ff.; William of Newberry, *Hist. Angl.* lib. II, c. 21; *Blicking Homilies* XV (EETS. OS. 73); *S. Patrick's Purgatory* (above); of the Ave Maria (stories from Caesarius of Heisterbach, cf. Ward, III, 360); and of the mass (cf. the vanishing of the demon-mother of Richard

pré's story, at the production of the pix, the illusion was dispelled and "such darkness thickened that the brother and his conductor were scarcely able to return to the passage out of the mountain." The feature as it occurs in Cantimpre, is certainly drawn from folk lore. The description in the *Disputisoun* amplifies this and adds a detail which frequently occurs in the romances, i.e., that the adventurers suddenly find themselves outside the Fairy World, and in the place from which they had entered it.[1] In the prose *Lancelot*,[2] the knights whom Lancelot has freed from captivity in the "Val sans retour," fall asleep and wake the next morning to find themselves, with their horses and squires, in the midst of an open plain, while the castle, the wall, the gardens, have all vanished. Perceval, in the *Conte du Graal*, (ed. 26971ff.), falling asleep at night in the Castle of Maidens, wakes the next morning to find himself under a tree, his arms and horse beside him and the castle gone. The phenomenon is too well known as an element of mediaeval romance to need further illustration.[3]

Return from the Other World is fatal to Brendan, as it is to certain Celtic heroes.[4] Brendan, after his return, recks no more of this world, but lives as a man in deep thought for a little time, until he dies. The monk Felix, in the Latin version of the story, dies soon after his return. This conclusion is omitted in the Middle English versions of Felix. I have not found an instance of death close upon the return in any romances. Guingamor, having disobeyed the fée's command to eat nothing during his visit to this world, turns into a shrivelled old man. Two maidens appear and carry him away.

Conclusion

This study, limited as it is, has offered, I think, certain clear illustrations of the fact that the legend, in general, may not be regarded as a distinct species of literary composition, and that the vision-legend, in particular, has much in common with the fairy world of the mediaeval romances. The history of vision literature has been

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Coeur de Lion, in the romance of that name.) A similar story is told by Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Instructione Principum*, dist. III, cap. 27, and by Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, (ed. Liebrecht, p. 26) and in the Latin *Gesta Rom.*, cap. 160). For the effect of a benediction upon supernatural beings, cf. Child, *Ballads*, I, 366. Cf. on this general subject, De La Warr B. Easter, *A Study of the Magic Elements in the Romans d'Aventure and the Romans Bretons*, J. H. diss. p. 25ff. For other legends in which the devil is similarly put to flight, see *Quomodo S. Andreas vicit diabolum*, *Alteng. Leg.* N. F. p. 8ff. and *De Milite depauperato diligente mat matrem domini*, ed. Horstmann, Herrig's *Archiv*, vol. 57, p. 244ff.

[1] Cf. the parallel to the *Disputisoun* in the life of S. Wulfram, above, p. 45f. There the adventurers find themselves back in the world, but not in any place familiar to them.

[2] Summarized by P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1875, IV, p. 293, chap. lxxxii.

[3] Cf. the *Conte du Graal*, v. 20303ff. and v. 26971ff.; *Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1860, vv. 5303ff.; the *Livre d'Artus*, summarized by E. Freymund in *Ztsch. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.* XVII; *Huon of Burdeaux*, pp. 594 and 596. Cf. also stories in Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, II, 262, 266. The same ending is very often used in Celtic tales of visits to the Other World. Cf. *The Voyage of Maelduin; the Echtra Thaidg mheic Chein;* the story of *Cormac in the Land of Promise*, Ir. Texte III, i (1891), 216, cf. Oss. Soc. Trans. III, 212ff.); *The Chase of Sliabh Fuaid* (Oss. Soc. VI, 21ff.); Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*.

[4] Cf. especially the death of Nechtan (in *The Voyage of Bran*), who perishes at landing on mortal soil, and the fate of Ossian, who, dismounting from his steed at his return from the Land of Youth, becomes an old man, helpless, poor, and blind.

sketched in sufficient detail to show the tradition which lay back of the Middle-English visions, and the points in which Middle-English visions conform to that tradition have been indicated. Among such points, a number have been found which are common to the romances. There are also, in the visions, some variations from the tradition, which may likewise be paralleled in romances. By these two varieties of parallels, the existence of a body of material drawn upon by writers of visions and writers of romances alike, is clearly established. The observation of resemblances in phrasing suggests that there was some direct borrowing from romances, and though there has been no attempt here to examine the problem of the borrowing of stories or motives, the verbal resemblances pointed out emphasize the fact that legends and romances were closely associated by monkish writers, and that the secular literature which furnished material for the romances was recognized also as legitimate material for legends. To return to a trope suggested earlier in the discussion, the stream of religious Other World portrayal, whether it flow in the channel of moral teaching or in that of naive longing and non-didactic playfulness, is largely of the same substance with the stream of Other World conception in the romances.

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